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CONTINUING

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# The Canadian Historical Review

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No. 4

## THE AMERICAN IMPACT ON THE UPPER CANADIAN REFORM MOVEMENT BEFORE 1837

WHEN Sir George Arthur arrived in Upper Canada, soon after the Rebellion of 1837, he asked his Executive Council to prepare a report on the state of the province, to which he was a complete stranger. Although the report was never written, the president of the council, Robert Baldwin Sullivan, submitted some lengthy remarks of his own, which attempted to account for the discontent and disaffection that had only recently culminated in an armed uprising. The fact to which he gave first importance was the proximity of Upper Canada to the United States. He noted that there were "no mountains or seas or differences of language to separate this Province from the United States," and observed that Upper Canada "must be materially affected by the state of Politics and of the popular mind in the neighbouring republic."<sup>1</sup> He described in scathing terms the decline of "representative government" in the republic into a "state of anarchy," and listed as the principal cause of discontent in Upper Canada the example of the United States and the extent to which its democratic ideas had spread north of the Lakes. Like all the Tories in Upper Canada, Sullivan believed that the agitation of the Reformers had been inspired by a desire to destroy British government in the province, and replace it with republican institutions. Although this analysis of Sullivan's was far too simple, especially in its failure to see that the radical programme in Upper Canada had its deepest roots in local grievances and that much of its inspiration had derived from the contemporary reform movement in Britain, yet he had seen with great clarity a phase of the

<sup>1</sup>C. R. Sanderson (ed.), *The Arthur Papers* (Toronto, 1943), I, 133.

subject that has only recently received its fair share of attention from historians.<sup>2</sup>

In one sense the peak of American influence in Upper Canada had already passed by the eighteen-twenties, since ties of population with the nearby states were far less close than they had been before the War of 1812. Furthermore, the growth of national feeling, both in the republic and in the province, the changing direction of the continental westward movement, the effect of the Erie Canal in depriving the St. Lawrence of the western trade—all helped to set off Upper Canada from the American community. On the other hand, the impact of the tremendous growth and expanding prosperity of the neighbouring states, and the contagious example of their democratic experiments, had an increasing effect after 1815 in determining the nature of the reform movement in Upper Canada. This province, as a small, predominantly rural community, with little intellectual life, was far less touched by British and European reform movements than it was by the developments taking place on its own doorstep. The American states of the Jacksonian period appeared to the Upper Canadians not as subordinate units of a vast centralized nation but as free, self-governing communities, grappling, on the whole successfully, with many of the problems facing their own province. The reform movement, as it gained strength in Upper Canada in the eighteen-thirties, depended heavily on the old American population that had entered the province during the previous generation,<sup>3</sup> and received much inspiration and stimulus from the activities of democrats south of the lakes. The impetus motivating the Reformers was no narrowly conceived demand for a changed relationship of executive and legislature, but was rather a genuine democratic ferment, involving widespread discussion of a great variety of political and economic issues, a debate which crystallized the demand for self-government in the province.

## I

In most of the controversies debated in the province in the eighteen-thirties, the Reformers used, to a greater or lesser extent,

<sup>2</sup>See especially Fred Landon, *Western Ontario and the American Frontier* (Toronto, 1941).

<sup>3</sup>In 1826 William Lyon Mackenzie asserted that whatever political liberalism existed in the province was "owing chiefly to our neighbourhood to the United States, and the independent principles brought into the colony with them by the settlers from thence. . . ." *Colonial Advocate*, May 18, 1826. Some years later, when he was looking back at the alien controversy of the eighteen-twenties, Mackenzie stated that "to lose American votes would have been the downfall of the democratic party." *The Caroline Almanack and American Freeman's Chronicle for 1840* (Rochester, New York), 45.

as weapons against the local oligarchy, arguments drawn from American experience.

The grievances arising out of the system of land granting were the deepest of any that agitated provincial opinion during this period. The reservation of vast areas of land for crown and clergy reserves, and the large grants made to those who had influence with the government placed the actual settler at a disadvantage. Persons who did buy land had to go through a cumbersome and lengthy procedure before a final deed was acquired. Discontent over these conditions led to frequent comparisons with American land policies, which after 1820 provided for cash sale of a minimum tract of 180 acres at \$1.25 an acre. This system encouraged settlement, and at the same time produced a sizable public revenue. William Lyon Mackenzie stated that the prospective buyer in Upper Canada "is tormented with office fees, petitions, affidavits, council days, locations . . . and is wearied out of his life before he gets his business done. . . ." But, "let him go to Michigan, appear at the land office, state the lot he wants, table the moderate price asked, and he is lord of the soil in fifteen minutes."<sup>4</sup> It was a general complaint that land was sold at inconvenient times and places in Upper Canada.<sup>5</sup> Prices were generally considered to be higher in the province than in the United States, but the greatest complaint was that land was sold on credit with interest payments added to the subsequent instalments. Mackenzie contrasted the American sale of public land "at a very low price for cash" with the sale in Upper Canada at "a high price for credit."<sup>6</sup>

Dissatisfaction with the manner in which the crown lands were disposed of contributed greatly to the desire for a more popular control over the government. The frequency with which the American land system was mentioned and the almost universal praise which was accorded it indicate that the American example played an important part in fanning this discontent. It was generally agreed that the United States understood "the settlement of new countries,"<sup>7</sup> whereas the Colonial Office, which was largely responsible for determining British North American land policy, did not. An increasing segment of provincial opinion became opposed to overseas control of land policy and desired to see the subject transferred to local authorities who were responsible to the people.

<sup>4</sup>*Colonial Advocate*, May 18, 1826.

<sup>5</sup>E.g., Patrick Shirreff, *A Tour through North America: Together with a Comprehensive View of the Canadas and United States, as Adapted for Agricultural Emigration* (Edinburgh, 1835), 361-2.

<sup>6</sup>*The Advocate*, June 26, 1834.

<sup>7</sup>P.A.C., Durham Papers, sec. 5, vol. II, 214, W. W. Baldwin to Hanson, Sept. 20, 1838.

In this period educational facilities in Upper Canada were pitifully inadequate. The people of the province, who were struggling with the problems of pioneer life, had no very high conception of the importance of education and very little desire to take the necessary step of taxing themselves to improve the educational system. Nevertheless, as social consciousness increased, it became apparent that the incentive for educational reform arose from two main sources—reaction against the exclusive plans of governmental and Anglican leaders, and attraction towards the school system of American states, particularly New York.

At this time educational reform had barely made a beginning in the United States. Much legislation had been put on the statute books, but little of it had yet taken effect. Interested persons in Upper Canada were, however, impressed by what had been accomplished, or at least promised, particularly in the establishment of a common school system, which they attempted to emulate. Gourlay noted that the Common School Act of 1816 was borrowed in substance from the state of New York.<sup>8</sup> Even Dr. Strachan, who was so critical of all things American, wrote in envious terms of the liberal appropriations for the support of education in New York, and pointed out that in comparison the schools of Upper Canada received a mere pittance.<sup>9</sup> For Strachan the main attraction of the New York system was the method of financing, whereby state support was granted only when it was met by equivalent local appropriation. This principle came to be accepted in Upper Canada, but other observers saw also in New York a system of publicly supported education which was free of sectarian influences and which was making at least some attempt to meet the needs of the general population.

Nearly all the school bills which were introduced in the Assembly in the eighteen-thirties made extensive references to the New York school system. Colonel Mahlon Burwell, member of the legislature for Middlesex and after 1836 for London, was not a Reformer but was actively interested in the question of education, and sponsored several of these measures. Concerning one of his bills, he stated that "it was framed nearly on the principles of the School Laws in the State of New York and some of the Eastern States, where Education was better supported than in any other

<sup>8</sup>Robert Gourlay, *Statistical Account of Upper Canada, Compiled with a View to a Grand System of Emigration* (London, 1822), II, 379.

<sup>9</sup>P.A.C., Q series, 341, pt. 3, 543, Strachan to Bathurst, June 26, 1826.

parts of the world."<sup>10</sup> The active interest of the Assembly in American educational practice was shown in 1835 by its appointment of three commissioners to study and report on the whole question of education, with particular reference to the methods being followed in the United States. One of the commissioners, the future rebel, Dr. Charles Duncombe, travelled extensively through the republic, and reported favourably on what he had found. He attributed the "recent rapidly increasing prosperity . . . of the northern, eastern and middle states" largely to the "extensive and general diffusion of Education through the medium of their Common School and other Literary Institutions," as well as to the laudable progress of the temperance movement. Duncombe found that educational authorities in the United States were alive to the shortcomings of their schools, and that they followed European educational developments much more closely than did anyone in Upper Canada. In the following decade, the Upper Canadians were to emulate this interest in European educational developments, but in the eighteen-thirties those who wished to improve the school system looked almost entirely to the United States.

The efforts of the members of the Assembly to broaden the school system met with firm opposition from the Legislative Council and the government. The educational system continued to be weighted heavily in favour of the rich and well-placed. In Mackenzie's words, "the sons of the yeomanry derive no benefit" from the system, which, instead "raises up and multiplies greatly in the colony the friends and supporters of arbitrary and exclusive principles and institutions."<sup>11</sup> It came to be felt generally in the province that a sensible educational policy, based on local needs and local knowledge rather than on the views of lieutenant-governors and irresponsible officials, could never be established until the government acquired a more popular base. Lord Durham noted that the educational advances in the United States had produced "a general spirit of emulation amongst the neighbouring provinces," and predicted that "the establishment of a strong popular government . . . would very soon lead to the introduction of a liberal and general system of education."<sup>12</sup> Only in 1841, when

<sup>10</sup>J. G. Hodgins (ed.), *Documentary History of Education in Ontario (Upper Canada) from the Passing of the Constitutional Act of 1791 to 1876* (Toronto, 1894-1910), II, 73. Debate in the House of Assembly, Nov. 9, 1832, quoted from *The Christian Guardian*.

<sup>11</sup>Memorandum to Lord Goderich, 1832. Quoted in *The Seventh Report from the Select Committee of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada on Grievances* (Toronto, 1835), 199-200.

<sup>12</sup>C. P. Lucas (ed.), *Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America* (Oxford, 1912), II, 135-6.



the exclusive character of the government had been considerably broken down, was a beginning made on a sound common school structure.

The Bank of Upper Canada was still another object on which the attack levelled by the Reformers was bolstered by observation of American events. This institution, which was chartered in 1824, was closely connected with the governing oligarchy, and had a virtual monopoly of the banking business of the province. Of all the Reformers, W. L. Mackenzie was the most vocal in financial as well as in other matters. In early issues of his paper he had begun to attack the Bank as a "terrible engine in the hands of the provincial administration . . . entirely under the thumb of parson Strachan and his pupils. . . ."<sup>13</sup> His attack broadened after his visit to Washington in 1829, when he spent some time reading about banking in the Library of Congress.<sup>14</sup> In the following years he watched closely the growing hostility of the Jacksonians towards the second Bank of the United States, and there is no doubt that the "Bank War" stimulated his own onslaught against the Bank of Upper Canada.<sup>15</sup> His views on banking questions bore a close similarity to those of the Jacksonians.<sup>16</sup> In an authentic reflection of the Jacksonian charges against Mr. Biddle's "monster," Mackenzie claimed that the Bank of Upper Canada tried to corrupt public officials and newspapers and to influence elections. Like the "hard money" school among the Jacksonians, he desired to see the banks lose their power of note issue. It is probable that his repeated expulsions from the Assembly in the early eighteen-thirties owed as much to his opposition to Tory banking legislation as to his supposed libels on the conservative majority in the Assembly. After his brief honeymoon with the Colonial Office in 1833, which led to the temporary disallowance of the banking legislation, Mackenzie resumed his attack on the banks and continued it until 1837. In his draft constitution for the state of Upper Canada, published

<sup>13</sup>*Colonial Advocate*, May 18, 1826.

<sup>14</sup>R. A. Mackay, "The Political Ideas of William Lyon Mackenzie" (*Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, III, 1937, 13).

<sup>15</sup>In the eighteen-forties Mackenzie recalled this controversy, and wrote, "Who was a more Decided opponent of the vile paper oligarchy [than I]? General Jackson's free trade and anti-bank notions were mine. I was his admirer in Canada. I am so still." P.A.C., Mackenzie Papers, vol. I, no date; collection of comments by Mackenzie, about Jackson, pasted on a newspaper. In 1829 he published 3,000 copies of a pamphlet praising Jackson's career and in the eighteen-thirties he steadily defended Jackson in the province.

<sup>16</sup>In 1834 Mackenzie published very lengthy extracts from the *History of Banking* by William M. Gouge, the Jacksonian authority on monetary and banking matters. See *The Advocate*, Apr. 10, 17, 24, May 8, 15, 22.



on November 15, 1837, he prohibited incorporated banks, limited legal tender to specie, and forbade the issue of small denomination bank notes.<sup>17</sup>

Mackenzie also directed his censorious pen against canal building in Upper Canada, alternately stressing the slow progress of Canadian enterprise as compared with American success in this field and the mismanagement which he felt to be the real explanation of the contrast. Although he always professed to support internal improvements, Mackenzie became so suspicious of Tory management of them that the impression left by his writings and activities was one of a narrow agrarian opposition to all commercial advance. In this attitude he and the radicals were running counter to the general feeling of the province, which was for more, not less, emphasis on internal improvements. William Hamilton Merritt, the sanguine and enterprising promoter of the Welland Canal, represented more accurately than did Mackenzie the views of the population, and it is through his eyes that one sees most clearly the role which the canal question played in the movement for self-government. Business men like Merritt came to feel that the narrowly-based government of the old colonial system was inadequate for the efficient prosecution of enterprises such as he saw being carried to fruition in the neighbouring states. The government was often, perhaps usually, sympathetic to the plans of commercial interests, but its course was marked by extravagance, by unpredictable interference from imperial authorities, and by insufficient attention to local needs. A few years later, Merritt wrote of this period that "the appointments to office were made by the Colonial Secretary in London, or by the Governor here. The incumbents never being removed, no motive existed for the development of talent; as a natural consequence, the most ordinary financial capacity was seldom found in any single department."<sup>18</sup> Thus it came about that business interests added their weight to the movement for political change, at the same time helping to steer it along a more moderate course than many of the radicals wished.

<sup>17</sup>Charles Lindsey, *The Life and Times of Wm. Lyon Mackenzie with an Account of the Canadian Rebellion of 1837, and the Subsequent Frontier Disturbances, Chiefly from Unpublished Documents* (Philadelphia and Toronto, 1862), II, 353-4.

<sup>18</sup>W. H. Merritt, *A Brief Review of the Revenue, Resources, and Expenditures of Canada, Compared with Those of the Neighbouring State of New-York: With an Examination into the Causes Which Have Produced the Present Extravagant System, and Suggesting a Remedy* (St. Catharines, 1845), 4. Merritt was a constant observer and admirer of American economic developments. He concluded that a popular, representative government, free of Old World extravagance and pomp, was the most useful to business enterprise in North America.

Merritt's statement may serve to introduce another issue on which North American and British views often clashed. There was a general feeling in Upper Canada that the government was too elaborate and expensive, and that the salaries of leading officials were too high. The Reformers found irresistible the temptation to compare these salaries with the modest, indeed meagre, pay of American office holders. Mackenzie, in particular, was fond of making comparisons between the cost of government in Upper Canada, and in states such as Vermont, New York, and Illinois. He noted that the expenses of the legislature in Vermont, which had approximately the same population as Upper Canada, amounted to only about one-quarter of those of the latter province and that the relative costs of the judiciary were as one to five. "What then! Upper Canada was made for gentlemen. Vermont for farmers!"<sup>19</sup> Mackenzie thought that such ancient institutions as the sergeant-at-arms, usher of the black rod, the master in chancery and such customs as the wearing of wigs, gowns, and three-cocked hats were out of place in North America. The state governments managed without them; so could Upper Canada. The elegant fittings of the Legislative Council, with its elaborate "Royal Throne," were viewed by one Reform newspaper as "the tomfoolery of unnecessary extravagance, fit only to be exercised among slaves of an Eastern despot." These practices created "artificial distinctions, (at the expense of the public), where none should have a real existence."<sup>20</sup> Such constant comparisons between simplicity and extravagance, strongly fortified by the examples of the neighbouring states, were exploited and publicized for the most part by the extreme Reformers, but it is safe to say that their outpourings were read with attention and sympathy by large sections of the province.

A concluding group of issues may be noted, the fate of which was strongly affected by arguments drawn from the American background. One of these was the question of the use of the ballot at elections. The Reformers favoured the adoption of the ballot because they hoped that it would improve their political position in the province by giving greater security to humbler voters who sometimes suffered intimidation under the system of voice voting. In adducing arguments for the ballot, the Reformers received both British and American inspiration; the ballot was a part of the British radical programme, and it had

<sup>19</sup>W. L. Mackenzie, *Sketches of Canada and the United States* (London, 1833), 161-3.

<sup>20</sup>*Brockville Recorder*, Dec. 12, 1834. Quoted from the *Toronto Correspondent and Advocate*.

been almost universally adopted in the neighbouring states. But since the argument from practice was more cogent than the argument from theory, the American experience became the decisive stimulus in the movement for the ballot in Upper Canada. Favourable references to the peaceful nature of American elections as contrasted with the violence of those in the province were a frequent theme of Reform speeches.

The Tories were more than ready to meet the Reformers on this ground; for instance, they enjoyed quoting conservative papers in the United States, such as the New York *Commercial Advertiser*, to show that the ballot had many opponents in that country. Their main argument, however, was that the ballot was an American innovation incompatible with British institutions. As one of its strongest opponents put it, "it is an endeavour of the friends of United States government to put our institutions on the same footing as theirs, to destroy our principles of government, for I say the ballot system is hostile to the principles of the British constitution. . . ."<sup>21</sup> It was in vain for the Reformers to reply, "It matters not where, or when, a thing originated; if it is good, why not adopt it?"<sup>22</sup> the Tories carried the day with their denunciation of the ballot as a republican innovation, and the Canadian people had to wait another generation before the ballot came into general use.

Another issue which owed much to the American background was the demand for the abolition of primogeniture. For this, too, the Reformers could draw arguments from British radical theories and from American practice. As a matter of fact, little help was needed from either source, since it was obvious to the great majority of the population of the province that the institution of primogeniture was unsuited to North American conditions. The Reformers took the lead in demanding its abolition, and they were joined by all but the most stubborn Tories. The provisions of the bills, passed almost annually in the Assembly in the eighteenth-twenties and eighteen-thirties and rejected by the Legislative Council, suggest that their framers had American precedent in mind. Equal division of property was to be required only where the holder died intestate, as was the law in American states, and

<sup>21</sup>Speech of Ogle R. Gowan in the House of Assembly. Quoted in the *Brockville Recorder*, Apr. 17, 1835. According to *The Patriot*, Sept. 9, 1834, the use of the ballot, coupled with the principle of universal suffrage, had "introduced into 'the GREAT REPUBLIC' the REIGN OF TERROR as effectually as ever it existed in the time of Danton, Marat, and Robespierre."

<sup>22</sup>Speech of S. C. Frey. Quoted in the *Brockville Recorder*, Apr. 17, 1835.

was not to be compulsory regardless of the holder's will, as was the case in France.

Marshall Spring Bidwell was the leading proponent of the measure in the province. He hoped that the abolition of primogeniture would make the province a land of small independent farmers. "Instead of a peasantry, let us have a yeomanry; and the country, on the one hand, would be more free, and all its liberal and popular institutions be supported with more spirit."<sup>23</sup> He denied that his measure would lead to a minute subdivision of property, giving as proof the experience of the United States, where such subdivision certainly had not taken place. The main argument of Bidwell and the other opponents of primogeniture was that it was a vestige of feudalism which had no place in North America. "The attempt to build up an Aristocracy in this province, by giving all to the eldest son, and thus making an aristocrat of him and democrats of his brothers and sisters, was ridiculous and absurd."<sup>24</sup> Another observer stated that although primogeniture continued to be defended by the aristocracy in England, it was "by no means suited to the genius or circumstances of this country."<sup>25</sup> Mackenzie wrote of the iniquitous effects of primogeniture in England, and declared that the defenders of the practice in the province were "shortsighted, miserable calculators . . . indeed, if they imagine that they can make Upper Canada long an exception to the general rule in America."<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, the Tories were successful in defeating this item of the "republican" programme, and its achievement came as a minor incident at a later day.

The method of choosing juries was another subject which excited the indignation of radicals. In Upper Canada juries were chosen by the county sheriff and his officers, who were in turn appointed by the government at Toronto. Since these appointments always went to supporters of the government, the sheriffs were normally inclined to the Tory rather than to the Reform school of politics, and as such they selected jurymen of similar views. Disgust at the partiality of sheriffs led some Reformers to advocate the method adopted in certain American states of choosing juries by lottery. Robert Davis explained, after a trip to

<sup>23</sup>Mr. Bidwell's Speech on the Intestate Estate Bill in the Provincial Assembly of Upper Canada, January 24, 1831, 3.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 5.

<sup>25</sup>Brockville Recorder, Mar. 20, 1835. Quoted from the Toronto Correspondent and Advocate.

<sup>26</sup>Mackenzie, *Sketches of Canada and the United States*, 305-13, which give in detail the law for inheriting property in New York State.

Ohio, that in this method there was "no possibility of corruption. Were the same plan practised in Canada, we should not have the causes of just complaint that we have at present."<sup>27</sup> The Tories, however, were adamant against this proposal. R. B. Sullivan noted that "the Election of juries . . . according to certain lottery schemes" in the American states made it nearly impossible to obtain the conviction of a popular man who might come before the law.<sup>28</sup> Such an alteration of the jury system, if it was not entirely motivated by the influence of the American example, certainly was blocked by fears of the government that it would be but another republican innovation, inconsistent with British institutions.

## II

Regarding the need for redressing such grievances there was widespread agreement among the Reformers. They were also agreed that no real remedy could be found until the grasp of the local oligarchy on the government of the province was broken and a more popular form of government achieved, in which Reformers, not Tories, would control the patronage. Among the more ardent radicals who regarded self-government largely as a means to secure reforms and redistribute the "spoils of office," there was something approaching an open mind on the less important matter of the actual form which self-government might take. With a natural attachment to the principles of the British constitution, especially in a period when reform was being achieved within its limits in Britain, and with a vivid memory of Simcoe's assurance that the colonial constitution was "the very image and transcript of that of Great Britain," the Reformers reacted favourably to the proposal of Dr. W. W. Baldwin and his son Robert that the proper application of the "principle" of choosing advisers from among men who had the support of the House of Assembly would ensure an adequate control of local affairs to the people of the province. Certainly Mackenzie, although he may not have understood the idea with all the clarity demanded by Canadian historians, repeatedly expressed sympathy for the Baldwins' solution, which was in fact common property among the Reformers of the eighteen-thirties.

<sup>27</sup>Robert Davis, *The Canadian Farmer's Travels in the United States of America, in which Remarks Are Made on the Arbitrary Colonial Policy Practised in Canada, and the Free and Equal Rights and Happy Effects of the Liberal Institutions and the Astonishing Enterprize of the United States* (Buffalo, 1837), 93.

<sup>28</sup>Sanderson (ed.), *The Arthur Papers*, I, 148.

What disturbed Mackenzie was that the Baldwins seemed to have no grasp of the political realities in Upper Canada. They appeared to be willing to wait patiently and indefinitely for a change of constitutional practice, which would never come unless the people fought actively for it. The crucial problem was to break the hold of the local oligarchy, which was certain to resist political change, no matter how "British" in conception, since it would mean a diminution of their powers and privileges. Only by constant struggle could they be dislodged from their position. As the Baldwins withdrew from political activity in the eighteen-thirties, Mackenzie wrote scornfully of the way in which they had "left the reformers in the lurch and gone after gain and ease."<sup>29</sup>

For his own part Mackenzie grew increasingly doubtful that political change could be achieved by appeals to the British government, which had proved at best to be fickle, and at worst to be a staunch supporter of the local Tories. "The events of the last 18 months," he wrote at the end of 1833, "have made me more democratic. . . . I have watched the progress of aristocracy and of democracy in America and my belief is that under the former neither life nor property is secure, while under the latter the people live in peace and safety. . . ."<sup>30</sup> Since, in Mackenzie's view, the guiding principle of the British constitution was aristocracy, its full operation in Upper Canada must involve much more than simply a technique of solving the relations between executive and legislature. The constitution also required the establishment of the laws of entail and primogeniture, the Church of England, tithes, hereditary peerage, and other institutions which he did not wish to see "engrafted . . . upon the Canadian mode of gov't."<sup>31</sup> Instead of the British constitution, which "cannot be enjoyed by any distant dependent province," he advised the people of Upper Canada to work for a "cheap elective, representative government."<sup>32</sup> These changes in Mackenzie's political orientation also led to a certain cooling in the hitherto warm relations which had existed between him and Joseph Hume. The latter had consistently encouraged Mackenzie with the hope that the new liberal elements in the British government would make a favourable and effective response to petitions from Upper Canada. In December, 1835, Mackenzie wrote to Hume, expressing his disap-

<sup>29</sup>*Colonial Advocate*, Apr. 11, 1833.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, Dec. 5, 1833.

<sup>31</sup>P.A.C., Neilson Collection, vol. 8, Mackenzie to Neilson, Feb. 7, 1834.

<sup>32</sup>Q series 378, pt. 4, 809, Mackenzie to the Committee of the Home and adjoining Districts, Sept. 10, 1833.

pointment with all the colonial secretaries whom the latter had praised, and stating that he was through with appeals to England. "I was deceived, but will not be so any more in that quarter."<sup>33</sup>

During the eighteen-thirties radical preference for elective institutions inevitably led to a demand for the reform of the Legislative Council, which was the immediate obstacle preventing the accomplishment of the legislative demands of the Reformers in the Assembly. The idea of an elective upper chamber was one which the Canadian Reformers in both provinces might easily have received from their radical friends in Britain who favoured it. On the other hand the statements made by the Reformers in Upper Canada suggest that the example of elective senates in the American states had been a greater influence. Mackenzie, for instance, proposed "a senate elected by the freeholders for a longer period than the other chamber (the members retiring in rotation). . . ."<sup>34</sup> Another Reformer would have turned the Legislative Council into a close likeness of the United States Senate by having each district in Upper Canada send one or two members to the Council.<sup>35</sup>

Although he was a leading advocate of an elective Senate, Mackenzie was increasingly attracted to another feature of American government, the popularly-elected executive. He realized that public opinion in the province was hardly ready to accept this measure but he was certain that, "When the question of the comparative advantages of an intelligent elective chief magistrate, from among ourselves, and a half pay officer a stranger to our customs, and whose interest often would be opposite of ours, comes to be generally discussed," the preference would be for the former.<sup>36</sup> His own experience at the hands of the Tory Assembly between 1831 and 1834 convinced him that the members of a popular legislature, who were amenable to pressure from commercial interests and the governing oligarchy, did not always, or often, reflect the wishes of the people. This reaction was reinforced by his view of events in the United States. There he saw governors in the states and a president at Washington valiantly using the veto to defend the rights of the people against corrupt legislatures and against economic monopoly. Mackenzie concluded that the

<sup>33</sup>Q series, 390, pt. 3, 510, 518, Mackenzie to Hume, Dec., 1835.

<sup>34</sup>Q series, 390, pt. 3, 529, Mackenzie to Hume, Dec., 1835.

<sup>35</sup>W. B. Wells, *Canadiana: Containing Sketches of Upper Canada, and the Crisis in Its Political Affairs* (London, 1837), 105.

<sup>36</sup>Q series, 378, pt. 4, 810, Mackenzie to the Committee of the Home and adjoining Districts, Sept. 10, 1833.



surest safeguard of popular government was "a chief magistrate, who could give reasons for his veto."<sup>37</sup> The glaring contrast between "Sir John Colborne cloaking and screening abuses in Upper Canada, and Andrew Jackson nobly checking them at Washington" must surely be apparent to all.<sup>38</sup>

The successful operation of popular government would require stronger party organization, and this would involve the adoption of the system of nominating conventions which had long been used in the neighbouring states and which had just reached the national level in the nominations of Clay and Jackson in 1831 and 1832. Mackenzie carefully explained the working of such conventions for the benefit of others who might not be as familiar as he was with American practice,<sup>39</sup> and recommended that conventions should be formed in each county, which in turn should send delegates to a provincial convention. He assured the Reformers of the various localities that, if they followed the rules for organizing nominating conventions, they would eventually triumph, although they might be in a minority at first. The Reformers "may be sure that Upper Canada will form no exception to the other parts of this continent, liberal principles must prevail—freedom is indigenous in our soil."<sup>40</sup>

### III

Such was the favourable interpretation put upon the progress of American democracy by Mackenzie and the radicals. But just as the picture of freedom and progress in the United States stimulated radicals in their demand for self-government, so did the same picture, viewed in a far different light, stiffen the resolve of the Tories to resist any broadening of the base of government.

Furthermore, the obvious trend of the radicals towards American republicanism caused many moderate Reformers to withdraw their support from Mackenzie and the radicals. The American impact had its negative effects on the movement for self-government, and as the crisis of 1836-7 approached, these proved to be more potent than the positive effects.

The obvious strategy of the Tories was, first, to label all reform

<sup>37</sup>Q series, 390, pt. 3, 530-1, Mackenzie to Hume, Dec., 1835.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, 517.

<sup>39</sup>Patrick Swift [W. L. Mackenzie], *A New Almanack for the Canadian True Blues; with which is Incorporated the Constitutional Reformer's Text Book; for the Millennial and Prophetical Year of the Grand General Election for Upper Canada, and the Total and Everlasting Downfall of Toryism in the British Empire, 1834* (York, [1833]), 19.

<sup>40</sup>Q series, 378, pt. 4, 798-99.



activity as American inspired and tending to republicanism,<sup>41</sup> and secondly, to discredit the Reform programme by pouring ridicule on the operation of representative government in the neighbouring republic, and to show that the course of events there was convincing proof of the inability of average men to govern themselves through democratic institutions. The Tories, reflecting the views of conservative New York papers, stressed the insecurity of property in the United States. Every disturbance south of the line was magnified into a riot, and adduced as a further example of the horrors of mob-rule. The cause of these riots was fixed "upon the AMERICAN CONSTITUTION, which, contrary to reason and common sense confided the destinies of the land to the ignorant, the shiftless, the penniless, the impudent and the ambitious, in short to the RABBLE."<sup>42</sup> The Tories noted Tocqueville's criticisms of the tyranny of the majority in the United States, and warned that true freedom could be preserved only through the checks on popular will found in monarchical institutions. For instance, the continuity of the executive implied by the phrase "the King never dies" was contrasted favourably with the instability resulting from a Presidential election every four years.<sup>43</sup> In short, the Tories believed that self-government in Upper Canada would repeat all the excesses which they professed to see in the United States. Admittedly the community of Great Britain enjoyed self-government, but not under democratic auspices. Self-government in Upper Canada would certainly involve the introduction of American democracy, against which the Tories were determined to fight resolutely to the end.

In this fight the Tories gradually enlisted an impressive group of allies, active and passive, and old and new. The staunchest foes of republicanism in Upper Canada had always been the military officers who served in the province as lieutenant-governors. All of these, from Simcoe onward, had been unanimous in denouncing the American sympathies of sections of the population and in identifying the Reform party with American republicanism. None of these gentlemen, however, had the talent for political leadership of Sir Francis Bond Head, who arrived in Toronto in January, 1836, and to whom fell the congenial task

<sup>41</sup>Even the organization of political unions, obviously influenced by the contemporary unions in Britain, was denounced on these grounds. "Whatever Unions may be in England, it must be remembered that in *this Country*, with Republicans at their head, they are the next step to Rebellion." Tory handbill, quoted in *St. Thomas Liberal*, Jan. 10, 1833.

<sup>42</sup>Toronto *Patriot*, Oct. 28, 1834.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*, Aug. 8, 1837.

of rallying all the "loyal" elements in the province for one final struggle against American democracy. Perhaps the deepest significance of Head's career lies in his astute mastery of democratic and demagogic techniques in the election campaign of 1836 to defeat the Reformers. He anticipated the "Tippecanoe and Tyler, Too" campaign of 1840, in showing that political democracy need have no terrors for conservatives who knew how to manipulate the masses. Head saw the contest as a straight fight between Monarchy and American Democracy, in which it was his duty to open "the Eyes of the People to the traitorous Designs" of the "Republican Party."<sup>44</sup>

Another factor which helped to determine the attitude of the province towards Mackenzie's programme was the changing character of the population as a result of the heavy British immigration of the eighteen-thirties. For some years the new immigrants were too busy establishing themselves to take much part in political life, but by 1836 their influence was being felt. It might be thought that this influence would be thrown preponderantly to the Reform side, since many of the immigrants had been touched by the Reform agitation at home, and carried radical and democratic ideas with them to the colonies. Many of them, again, acquired an economic independence in the province, which gave them "lofty notions." Most of the contemporary evidence points in the other direction, however, and suggests that the British immigration contributed a distinctly conservative influence to Upper Canada.<sup>45</sup> Sir John Colborne confidently, and accurately, predicted that the new colonists, although unable to exert a significant influence on the elections of 1834, would certainly do so in subsequent contests.<sup>46</sup>

The authorities seem to have made a conscious effort to ensure the loyalty of newly-arrived settlers by warning them against the old American inhabitants and by painting a dark picture of the United States for them. The Reform papers complained bitterly of the efforts of the government to prejudice immigrants against

<sup>44</sup>Q series, 390, pt. 3, 743, Head to Glenelg, July 18, 1836.

<sup>45</sup>The conservative influence of the British immigrants appears to have been much stronger than that of the old Loyalist population, who were accused by some contemporaries of being strongly tinged with "republican principles." See Sanderson (ed.), *The Arthur Papers*, I, 154; Durham Papers, sec. 6, vol. I, pt. 2, 707, Stephen Randal, "Observations on the State of parties immediately or remotely dangerous to the existing connection between the North American colonies and Great Britain," submitted to Lord Durham, June, 1838.

<sup>46</sup>Q series, 381, pt. 1, 234, Colborne to Hay, Mar. 7, 1834, and Q series, 383, pt. 2, 235, Colborne to Spring Rice, Nov. 20, 1834.

the old settlers and against the Reformers,<sup>47</sup> but it is doubtful that any great amount of indoctrination was needed to keep the immigrants loyal. Those who were disposed to quarrel with British government and institutions were likely to move on across the border; those who remained usually had a small amount of capital, and were able to acquire a tract of land. The man who might have been a radical in England was often changed into a Tory in Upper Canada when he became a land owner. Such a man was highly suspicious of the radical proposals, which were so obviously tinged with American republicanism. One settler, who had "left England in 1832 something of a radical," stated that his experience with Reformers in Upper Canada convinced him "that the reform they were seeking after was quite of a different cast to what I contemplated, that in fact, theirs was no less than an upset of the Government, coupled with an abuse of everything English."<sup>48</sup> Men of this ilk were highly susceptible to Head's dramatic appeals.

One group of British settlers deserves special mention for the role it played in the province. These were the half-pay officers, and other men who had been "gentlemen" in the old country. Each of them had a fairly comfortable income and a few of them were very well off. These men, many of whom now owned land for the first time in their lives, assumed the role of the gentry in Upper Canada, and proved to be a strongly conservative influence.<sup>49</sup> The *Patriot* spoke highly of a class of immigrants "of a higher grade in society," whose effect would be to weigh down the balance against the "demagogue."<sup>50</sup> On the other hand the Reformers denounced the half-pay officers as "an *unprincipled* aristocracy" who were acquiring "every office of trust and profit." "They are slaves and sycophants to the Governor, and at elections are the captains of Orange mobs."<sup>51</sup> These men were obviously vigilant sentinels for the preservation of British institutions.

This reference to "Orange mobs" suggests still another result of the British immigration. In the later eighteen-twenties and in the following decade the Orange Order steadily increased its numbers, drawing its recruits largely from the Protestant Irish who were entering the province in considerable numbers. The

<sup>47</sup>Cf. *St. Thomas Liberal*, Apr. 4, Sept. 19, 1833.

<sup>48</sup>P.A.C., Upper Canada Sundries, John Burn, probably to Sir George Arthur, July 19, 1838.

<sup>49</sup>Cf. A. R. M. Lower, "Determinism in Politics" (*Canadian Historical Review*, XXVII, 1946, 241).

<sup>50</sup>*Toronto Patriot*, Oct. 24, 1834.

<sup>51</sup>Davis, *The Canadian Farmer's Travels*, 9.

government of Upper Canada, in emulation of similar measures in Britain, attempted from time to time to discourage the growth of the Orange societies, but the effort was never more than half-hearted. The Order, with its fervent loyalty to British institutions and to the Empire, was too valuable to the governing groups to be the object of serious displeasure. Mackenzie, as might be expected, claimed that the government deliberately fostered "the orange system . . . for party purposes."<sup>52</sup> Certainly it was true that Reformers and Orangemen were sworn enemies, in the eighteen-thirties as well as later. Under the leadership of Ogle R. Gowan, the Orangemen mobilized their forces to carry elections for the Tories in many constituencies, particularly in the eastern part of the province. Gowan himself was elected to the Assembly in 1834 and 1836, where he became well known for violent denunciations of the republican tendencies of the Reformers. Dr. John Rolph stated a general belief in the province when he declared that the Orange Order had played an important part in deciding the election of 1836.<sup>53</sup>

This combination of forces adhering to the Tory side might well have been unavailing had it been faced by a Reform party as united as that which had won the election of 1828. As is well known, however, that party developed serious rifts and suffered heavy defections during the decade under consideration, the best explanation for which lies in the conflicting attitudes of Reformers towards American democracy. Lines were being drawn between moderate and radical Reformers, with the initiative passing to the latter led by the increasingly republican Mackenzie.<sup>54</sup>

The most serious split in liberal ranks occurred when Egerton Ryerson broke with Mackenzie in 1833 and thus withdrew much of the Methodist support from the Reform ranks. Hitherto, relations between the Methodists and the Reformers had been very close,<sup>55</sup> since both groups had been fighting for certain

<sup>52</sup>P.A.C., Neilson Collection, vol. 8, Mackenzie to Neilson, Dec. 28, 1835.

<sup>53</sup>Rolph's speech in the Assembly, quoted in *The Constitution*, Mar. 1, 1837. W. B. Kerr states that in 1836 "the Order acted as a unit at the polls in favor of the Tory party as the best means of preserving the connection with Great Britain." *The Sentinel*, May 4, 1939.

<sup>54</sup>In an analysis of the Reform members elected in 1834, the *Hamilton Free Press*, a paper of moderate liberal tone, noted two elements, Whigs and Radicals. The former lacked decisive leadership, and would generally follow Mackenzie, Bidwell, and Perry, but would give uncertain support to such "ticklish points" as "Clergy Reserves, Elective Legislative Council, vote by ballot and the like." Quoted in the *Brockville Recorder*, Nov. 7, 1834.

<sup>55</sup>How close these relations appeared to the Tories may be seen from an editorial in the *Patriot*, Jan. 18, 1833. "McKenzie's MEASURES!!! What are they? Why these be them. To fill the land with vagrant beggars, under the name of American

common objectives, but this connexion coupled with the American origins of the early Methodists in Upper Canada proved to be a heavy obstacle to the success of the main objective of the church—that of saving souls.<sup>56</sup> Partly to conciliate official opposition, the Methodists of Upper Canada withdrew from the American General Conference in 1828 and entered into union with the British Wesleyans in 1833. Mackenzie interpreted the union as proof that Ryerson had abandoned his earlier liberalism, while Ryerson welcomed the opportunity to widen the breach between the radicals and the Methodists. Although many Methodists refused to follow where Egerton led, others must have echoed his brother John's view that the radicals were after "not Reform but Revolution."<sup>57</sup> Three years later John assured his brother that he and other Methodist preachers had "laboured to the utmost of our extent" to defeat radical candidates in the 1836 election.<sup>58</sup> Obviously the Methodist leaders had worked with might and main to demonstrate their opposition to republican doctrines.

#### IV

It would appear, then, that the example of the American states, which led some of the radicals to adopt an imitative programme, had a damaging effect on the movement for self-government, and that the latter would have been far more successful had it not been so easily labelled as republican and had its members not split over the republican issue. And yet it is doubtful that this should be the final word. Despite the harm done by the rash and violent Mackenzie, he had acquired a large enough following to convince both local and British authorities that Upper Canada could not long remain an island of oligarchic privilege in the vast sea of North American popular government. Robert Baldwin, who strongly opposed Mackenzie's course, recognized the existence of a deep-seated demand for a freer form of government, and warned

Preachers, who when they have sufficiently imbued our population with hatred to the Church of England, the Roman Catholics, the Kirk of Scotland, and the British Methodists, and instilled a love for his idolised Yankee Republicans, and a rancorous hostility to our constitution and government, are to set in motion the implements of destruction . . . our Governor and the troops he commands are then to be sent packing, and some pious 'Varmounter' or Connecticut Orthodox Blueskin instantly sent for to take charge . . . to whom McKenzie will act as *premier*. . . ."

<sup>56</sup>Colborne gave to Ryerson the usual tag applied to those on the Reform side. "Ryerson . . . was, I believe, educated in the United States and probably would have no objection to see a more democratic form of Government established in Canada. . . ." Q series, 374, pt. 3, 604, Colborne to Hay, May 7, 1832.

<sup>57</sup>C. B. Sissons (ed.), *Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters* (Toronto, 1937), I, 190, John Ryerson to Egerton Ryerson, Nov. 7, 1833.

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 361, same to same, England, Sept. 25, 1836.

the colonial secretary that Sir F. B. Head's conduct of the government would increase rather than allay "the agitation of Independence, or at least Elective Governors as well as Council."<sup>59</sup> Two weeks earlier, in a famous letter, he had explained once again his principle of executive responsibility and held it out as the only alternative to the acceptance by the province of American institutions. "You may indeed by strenuously insisting on the inapplicability of this principle to their situation drive them ['the yeomanry of Upper Canada'] to insist on a more extended system of elective institutions . . . but you can never persuade them to abandon the object of obtaining much more influence than they now possess, through their Representatives, in the administration of the Executive Government of the Colony."<sup>60</sup> It is probable that Baldwin realized that many of the long standing "grievances" of Upper Canada were not the fault of the form of government; the causes of many were deep in the geographic and economic circumstances of the province. But until the people of the province could achieve control over their own local affairs, such as their neighbours to the south possessed, it was inevitable that all difficulties would be ascribed to colonial subordination and arbitrary government. An editorial in the *Quebec Gazette* in 1829 drew attention to this situation by saying that: "There is no safe course but to entrust the people of Upper Canada with an influence in the management of their own concerns, something like that which prevails in the adjoining country, and thereby throw the burthen of any disadvantageous comparison, which they may draw from their condition on themselves."<sup>61</sup> Lord Durham pointed the same moral in 1838 by his statement that "No large community of free and intelligent men will long feel contented with a political system which places them, because it places their country in a position of inferiority to their neighbours."<sup>62</sup>

Although the people of Upper Canada turned in the eighteenthies to what they considered to be a superior technique for solving the problem of local self-government, one which kept them within the Empire and which had no implication of political connexion with their republican neighbours, it was clear that they had been encouraged throughout the struggle by the example of democratic activity in the nearby states.

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<sup>59</sup>Q series, 391, 135. Baldwin to Glenelg, July 26, 1836.

<sup>60</sup>P.A.C., *Report*, 1923, 332, same to same, July 13, 1836.

<sup>61</sup>Quoted in Q series, 376, pt. 1, 237.

<sup>62</sup>Lucas (ed.), *Lord Durham's Report*, II, 310.

## THE ORIGINS OF CANADIAN IRRIGATION LAW

THE Northwest Irrigation Act of 1894<sup>1</sup> was the first Canadian statute dealing with the subject of irrigation. It was an eminently sensible measure, sound in its major provisions, and timely in its enactment. It introduced radically new principles, whose implications were understood neither by the minister who sponsored the bill nor by the members of the Parliament which approved it. The story of how the Northwest Irrigation Act came into existence provides a curious chapter in the history of social institutions.

The evolution of Canadian irrigation law begins, rather oddly, in a case which had nothing whatever to do with the subject of irrigation. In the year 1831, a gentleman named Horner sold a grist mill, together with its water-privilege, on the Granby River in what was then Lower Canada, to a man named Douglas. Three years later, Horner constructed a dam a little further up the river, with the unfulfilled intention of building a second grist mill on the north side of the river. The south end of his dam, together with its water-privileges, he sold to a certain Harlow Minor, who shortly afterwards built a tannery to be operated by the water from the dam in which he had just purchased a share. A week after this sale, Horner sold the north end of the dam, together with its water privilege, to Francis Gilmour, who subsequently bought the down-stream grist mill from Douglas. In periods of low water there was not sufficient flow in the river to operate both the mill and the tannery, and Gilmour persisted in letting the water out of his end of the dam, thus keeping his own mill running but forcing Minor to shut down his tannery for lack of water.

Minor suffered this deprivation for some time, but in 1853 he sued Gilmour, claiming damages extending over the previous ten years and asking an order to compel Gilmour to close the gate in his end of the dam. The Superior Court at Montreal granted the desired order, but in 1857 the Court of Queen's Bench for Lower Canada, with Chief Justice Sir Louis LaFontaine presiding, reversed this decision. The case was again appealed, was argued twice before the Privy Council, and was disposed of in a remarkable judgment delivered by Lord Kingsdown in 1859. The decision, in part, was as follows:

<sup>1</sup>57-8 Vic., c. 30.



By the general law applicable to running streams, every riparian proprietor has a right to what may be called the ordinary use of the water flowing past his land; for instance, to the reasonable use of the water for his domestic purposes and for his cattle, and this without regard to the effect which such use may have, in the case of a deficiency, upon proprietors lower down the stream. But, further, he has the right to the use of it for any purpose, or what may be deemed the extraordinary use of it, provided that he does not thereby interfere with the rights of other proprietors, either above or below him. Subject to this condition, he may dam up the stream for the purpose of a mill, or divert the water for the purpose of irrigation. But he has no right to interrupt the regular flow of the stream, if he thereby interferes with the lawful use of the water by other proprietors, and inflicts on them a sensible injury.<sup>3</sup>

Why did their Lordships inject into this decision a reference to irrigation? It had been recognized for centuries that all who had legal access to a stream might legally use its waters *ad lavandum et ad potandum*.<sup>3</sup> It was a basic principle also, that all riparian proprietors had the right to enjoy the normal flow of the natural stream, unchanged in quantity and unaltered in quality.<sup>4</sup> The decision in *Minor v. Gilmour* now implied that any riparian proprietor could take the water of his stream, without licence from the state or consent of other riparian owners, and could use it for any "extraordinary" purpose, including irrigation. Other riparian proprietors could indeed prevent such use, but only if they could prove "sensible damage" resulting from the interruption of the natural flow.

The judges of the Privy Council, in defining the rights and limits to the extraordinary use of water, made a very important contribution to irrigation law by their decision in the case of *Minor v. Gilmour*, even though irrigation was not a matter in dispute in the Canadian case. Each Privy Council decision, however, was bound to affect the law in distant areas and in unexpected circumstances. The territory of California, for example, had advanced to statehood in 1851, and had adopted the common law of England as its basic law.<sup>5</sup> It had also legalized the practice already well established in mining camps and beginning to be accepted as small farms grew up adjacent to the camps. This practice was based on the principle that "the right to running water may be acquired by appropriation, which must be for some useful or

<sup>3</sup>This case has been widely reported and frequently cited: 12 Moo. P.C. 131; 7 Week. 328, 1859; C.R. 3 A.C. 230.

<sup>4</sup>For discussion of this principle see *Swindon Waterworks Co. v. Wills & Berks Canal Navigation Co.*, (1875) L.R. 7 H.L. 697.

<sup>5</sup>Though this principle is frequently stated in judicial decisions, its statement almost invariably precedes an elaborate explanation of the reasons which prevent the application of the principle to the case under consideration.



beneficial purpose."<sup>5</sup>

This was the "doctrine of appropriation," which was rapidly being adopted in all the arid regions of western North America as these were reached by settlement. It implied that any settler, needing water to irrigate hay meadows or crops, had the right to divert a stream for that purpose, and could maintain that right against later settlers who also needed water, but who had arrived too late to suffer damage from the initial diversion.

What constituted a valid appropriation, whether actual diversion was needed, or whether it was sufficient to commence the construction of diversion works, or merely to post a notice or to entertain the intention of diversion, were matters which remained to be settled, either by legislation or by litigation. How the right to the continued use of appropriated water could be maintained, whether by "undisputed enjoyment for twenty years," or by some sort of statutory licence or charter, or by armed force, was also a matter for the future to determine.

Wherever the doctrine of appropriation was adopted, it created a maze of conflicting and frequently insoluble claims. The comment of Professor J. M. Wilson, after describing the chaos which the doctrine of appropriation had caused in the valley of one minor stream in California,<sup>6</sup> could very well have been extended to all the states in which the doctrine was applied: "Everywhere, all over California, wherever there has been enterprise enough to attempt to use the water, the story is the same. The energy and capital of water-users and appropriators are consumed in litigation. The cause is not in the people who seek to utilize the water, but in the law regulating the appropriation and use of water."<sup>7</sup> The legal deficiencies of which Professor Wilson complained were not the result of incompetence or bad faith on the part of legislator or jurist. They merely reflected the enormous difficulties in the way of adapting the institutions derived from England, a land where scarcity of water was seldom a problem, to other lands where such scarcity was a chronic condition.

The modern era of irrigation began in northern Italy, at about the same time that Minor and Gilmour began to quarrel about

<sup>5</sup>For a discussion of these two statutes (both of which he assigns to 1851, the year in which California became a state), see C. S. Kinney, *A Treatise on the Law of Irrigation* (2nd ed., 4 vols., San Francisco, 1912), I, 1046 et seq.

<sup>6</sup>*Irrigation from Cache Creek*, United States Department of Agriculture, Office of Experiment Stations, bulletin 100.

<sup>7</sup>Quoted in E. Mead, *Irrigation Institutions* (New York and London, 1903), 202.

their respective rights to the water in the Granby River. Count Cavour, who was an ardent agricultural reformer as well as a power politician, undertook a comprehensive reorganization and reconstruction of the irrigation systems of Piedmont. These had been operated by traditional methods under semi-feudal institutions, in some cases since the eleventh century.<sup>8</sup> For the reconstruction works, the Piedmontese government relied largely on British capital, expended under the direction of British engineers. These engineers frequently became enthusiastic promoters of new irrigation projects, and they carried the techniques they had learned in Italy to India and later to Egypt, enormously increasing the productivity of those countries, and incidentally, by the creation of profitable irrigation systems there, helping to recoup the British investing public for the losses it had suffered in financing the Cavour Canal.<sup>9</sup>

One factor which had helped to make irrigation investment unprofitable in Piedmont had been the unfavourable legal environment—the maze of conflicting claims, based on ancient feudal grants, to the ownership of the water in the streams. Such claims created a “waterlord” problem, which was at least as vexatious, and, through the appropriation as unearned increment of much of the increased production resulting from irrigation, as hampering to enterprise as any form of landlordism.

To the engineers and the investors alike, the ideal situation existed in India, where the ownership of both the land and the water was vested in the Crown,<sup>10</sup> and where both these essentials to production could be employed in the most socially useful manner without hindrance from the owners of vested rights in either.

One of these engineers with Indian experience, Captain Cotton of the Madras Engineers (later more widely known as General Sir Arthur Cotton of the Royal Engineers), was stationed in Victoria, Australia, in 1850. In the same year that Gilmour bought his grist mill, Captain Cotton published in *Australia Felix* a series of articles calling attention to the possibilities of irrigation in that colony. The interest which he created never quite died down, but it was not until 1880 that another British engineer, Mr. George

<sup>8</sup>See *Irrigation in Southern Europe*, by C. C. Scott-Moncrieff (London, 1868). The author was the engineer who thirty years later assumed complete control of the barrage, irrigation, and drainage system of the Nile Delta. See also *Italian Irrigation* (London, 1855) by Captain R. Baird-Smith, who some years later published a study of *Irrigation in Madras*.

<sup>9</sup>The Company operating the Canal went into bankruptcy in 1867.

<sup>10</sup>Cf. the India Act (August 2, 1858).

Gordon,<sup>11</sup> was appointed to serve with the surveyor-general of the colony, Mr. A. Black, as a board to study the possibilities of water supply on the northern plains. After a few years of cautious development, this Board was abolished and a Royal Commission was set up to study the whole question of irrigation. The result of its labours was the Victoria Irrigation Act of 1886.<sup>12</sup>

This Act was remarkable in two respects. It was the first legislation in an Anglo-Saxon country to reject the doctrine of riparian rights and to substitute the Indian principle that surface waters should belong to the Crown, rather than to individual property owners, and it was the first Irrigation Act to be based on a comprehensive study of existing irrigation institutions. Mr. Alfred Deakin, a member of the legislature and one of the most active supporters of irrigation, personally visited the arid states of western North America to study laws and methods there, and submitted his findings to the Commission. The testimony of experts from other countries, especially India, was also sought.<sup>13</sup>

Among the promoters of irrigation were two enterprising brothers from Canada, who undertook the first large-scale privately-owned irrigation development in Australia. This development was sanctioned by the Waterworks (Construction Encouragement, 1886) Act, 50 Vic., no. 910, which confirmed the agreement between the Honourable Alfred Deakin, chief secretary and commissioner of water supply for Victoria, and George and William Benjamin Chaffey<sup>14</sup> of Toronto in Canada, and which gave the brothers control of a quarter of a million acres of potentially valuable land.

Meanwhile, in Canada, interest in irrigation was confined to a very few men. Some of these were squatters, usually from the western states, who settled north of the border, and who appropriated both land and water without regard for legal formalities. The first known irrigator on the Canadian prairies, John Glen, was a squatter who in 1875 settled on what later proved to be section 3, township 23, range 1, west of the 5th meridian. In 1878 he began the diversion of water from Fish Creek for the irrigation of fifteen or twenty acres of hay meadow. Other unauthorized diversions followed, and the first legal appropriation came when the Macleod Irrigation Company was chartered in 1891.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup>This paragraph is based on Mr. Gordon's account in the minutes of the *Proceedings of the Institute of Civil Engineers* (paper no. 313-4), CXLII, 326-33.

<sup>12</sup>50 Vic., no. 898 (Dec. 16, 1886).

<sup>13</sup>This report was published, and was highly regarded by professional irrigationists. I have been unable to find a copy.

<sup>14</sup>There is a *Life of George Chaffey*, by J. A. Alexander (Melbourne, 1928).

<sup>15</sup>A list of early Western irrigators is given in the reports of the Department of the Interior, 1895, *Sessional Paper*, no. 13, part 1, no. 3, p. 29.

For a considerable time the Canadian government was reluctant to admit that irrigation was either needed or practised in western Canada. Any such admission, it was felt, would imply that the country was naturally arid, and so would act as a deterrent to settlement. This cautious attitude is reflected in the testimony of Professor James Gordon Mowat, in his evidence on the climatology of Canada before the Committee on Agriculture and Colonization in 1891: "There is a part of the North-West lying in the district of Swift Current and Medicine Hat that probably will require irrigation for the successful prosecution of agriculture, but perhaps very little need be said of this at present, as with so large a surplus of free and cheap land elsewhere the subject is somewhat premature. But the time will come when the country will demand irrigation, for irrigation is a necessity."<sup>16</sup> Professor Mowat had a long list of recommendations to submit to the Committee, and he ventured to include (but very near the end): "(r) Investigation (if deemed prudent) of the best means of remedying the aridity of certain portions of the North-West."<sup>17</sup>

Fortunately not all the experts were so cautious. Most outspoken on the subject was Mr. William Pearce, the superintendent of mines under the Department of the Interior, who was a member of the Land Board and whose headquarters were in Calgary. Beginning in 1885, he bombarded his superiors with reports and memoranda urging recognition of irrigation as a necessity in the dry belt, and advocating the adoption of a definite irrigation policy which would ensure the best use of the available water and which would prevent the legal chaos which the uncontrolled private appropriation of water could soon create.<sup>18</sup>

His enthusiasm, together with that of Mormon settlers<sup>19</sup> who began to arrive in southern Alberta in 1887, led Colonel J. S. Dennis, the chief inspector of surveys, and a foreign member of

<sup>16</sup>*Journals of the House of Commons*, 1891, appendix no. 5, p. 107.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>18</sup>Several of these are printed in the *Sessional Papers*.

<sup>19</sup>Agriculture in Utah had been dependent on irrigation from the beginnings of settlement there in 1847. The State of Deseret at the first session of its legislature in 1852 had established public ownership of water and had provided for the granting and protection of rights to the use of water. These sensible provisions were abolished in 1880 and thereafter the private appropriation of water was permitted without legal authority or control.

Migration of Mormon settlers from Utah to Canada did not begin until 1887. It was stimulated by the Edwards Act (1882) which prohibited polygamy within the United States and compelled Mormons with more than one wife to move all except one of their households out of the country. The early settlers in Alberta seem to have regarded the free appropriation of water as a natural procedure, and there is no indication that Canadian legislation was influenced by the legislation of the State of Deseret, which had already been discarded by the Territory of Utah.

the American Association of Irrigation Engineers, to supplement the arguments of Mr. Pearce with others of his own.<sup>20</sup> The impact of a series of dry years, and the encouragement of these two senior Government officials, created considerable sentiment in favour of irrigation among the residents of the southwest section of the prairies and led to the formation of an Irrigation League with a number of local branches. The Land Department of the Canadian Pacific Railway was converted to the view that irrigated lands might provide more traffic than range lands, and that irrigation development might prove a profitable sideline.

Some faint political support was secured. On April 14, 1890, Mr. N. F. Davin (Assiniboia) moved in the House of Commons: "That it is expedient that the Government should direct earnest attention to the establishment of irrigation in the Territories."<sup>21</sup> Only four other members spoke to the motion, all to condemn it. The general feeling seems to have been that it was bad taste to mention the matter at all. As one member pointed out: "It is not advisable to advertise that the North-West is a country where irrigation is necessary."<sup>22</sup> Even Mr. Davin proved half-hearted in his support. "What we want," he said, "is wells and not irrigation; but one of the most trusted officers of the Department of the Interior, Mr. Pearce . . . has written an elaborate essay advocating the introduction of a system of irrigation in Alberta."<sup>23</sup>

In the Territorial Legislature, the advocates of irrigation had better luck. On December 18, 1891, a committee consisting of Messrs. Lineham, Tweed, Cayley, Haultain, and Magrath (most of whose names now appear on the map of the Dry Belt) was appointed "to consider and report on the advisability of memorializing the Dominion Government in regard to encouraging and aiding irrigation in the territories."<sup>24</sup> A favourable report was submitted, and duly forwarded to the secretary of state for Canada.<sup>25</sup>

Finally in the winter of 1892, the minister of the interior, the Honourable T. Mayne Daly, visited Calgary and became convinced that the problem should be faced. He accordingly instructed the officials to draft a bill, which was printed and circulated among the members of the federal Parliament during

<sup>20</sup>See, for example, his report of Dec., 1893, published in *Sessional Paper*, no. 13, 1894, p. xxxi.

<sup>21</sup>*Hansard*, 1890, p. 3292.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 3305 (Mr. Wilson).

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 3308. The reference is to a paper written by Mr. Pearce in 1888, and read before the Association of Dominion Land Surveyors in January, 1890.

<sup>24</sup>Northwest Territories, *Journals of the Assembly*, 1891-2, p. 29.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 102.

the session of 1893. The measure was not formally presented at that session, however, since owing to the absence of the prime minister in Paris to attend the meetings of the Behring Sea Commission, the legislative programme was kept to a minimum.<sup>26</sup>

Bill no. 34, which became the NorthWest Irrigation Act, was introduced in the House of Commons by the Honourable T. Mayne Daly, and was passed with a minimum of discussion during June of 1894. The core of the Bill was section 4, which was copied almost directly from the Victoria Act of 1886. The parallel passages are set out below:

The Canadian Act:

4. Until the contrary is proved, the right to the use of all water at any time in any river, stream, watercourse, lake, creek, ravine, canon, lagoon, swamp, marsh or other body of water shall, for the purposes of this Act, in every case be deemed to be vested in the Crown, and, save in the exercise of any legal right existing at the time of such diversion or use, no person shall divert or use any water from any river, stream, watercourse, lake, creek, ravine, canon, lagoon, swamp, marsh or other body of water, otherwise than under the provisions of this Act.

The Victorian Act:

4. The right to the use of all water at any time in any river stream watercourse lake lagoon swamp or marsh shall for the purposes of this Act in every case be deemed to be vested in the Crown until the contrary be proved by establishing any other right than that of the Crown to the use of such water; and save in the exercise of any legal right existing at the time of such diversion or appropriation no person shall divert or appropriate water from any river stream watercourse lake lagoon swamp or marsh excepting under the provisions of this Act or of some other Act already or hereafter to be passed, except in the exercise of the general right of all persons to use water for domestic and stock supply from any river stream watercourse lake lagoon swamp or marsh vested in the Crown, and to which there is access by a public road or reserve.

The Canadian Act, while copying the general wording of the Victorian Act, is still more sweeping in its obliteration of the principle of riparian rights. Mr. John Madden, crown solicitor for Victoria, had already given the opinion, in answer to a query from the secretary of mines and water supply that "This riparian right [under the rule in *Minor v. Gilmour*] is still preserved by the Act of 1886 as to persons who had such a right at the passage of the Act."<sup>27</sup> The Canadian Act, and its successors, have never been challenged on these grounds. The provision regarding the right of access from public roads or reserves was intentionally

<sup>26</sup>Sessional Paper, no. 13, 1895, part 1, no. 3, p. 31.

<sup>27</sup>Kinney, *A Treatise on the Law of Irrigation*, I, 194.

omitted from the Canadian Act. Mr. Pearce was already advocating that road allowances, school lands, and Hudson's Bay Company reserves should be abolished in the irrigation belt, and that the whole area should be developed to secure the best possible combinations of land and water uses.

As originally drafted, Bill no. 34 would have given to the Crown the control of artesian waters as well as of surface waters. Unfortunately, the minister had not been too well briefed, and the only official in Ottawa competent to explain this clause, Colonel Dennis, had left the capital early in June to organize the irrigation surveys provided in the Bill. Mr. Daly was unable to defend the proposal when it was challenged, and allowed it to drop, so that artesian water can still be appropriated by any landowner able to do so.

Passage of the Bill was assisted by the presence in Ottawa of a number of delegates collected from Calgary, Macleod, Medicine Hat, and Lethbridge, and given free passage to Ottawa by the Canadian Pacific Railway.<sup>28</sup> It was also assisted by the publication of a rumour (by Mr. Pearce) that the officials of the Great Northern Railway were seriously considering a proposal to dam up the waters of the Milk River on the Canadian side of the border, and to appropriate these waters for the irrigation of railway lands in Montana.<sup>29</sup>

Outside the dry belt, the socialization of the western waters attracted little attention. The *Edmonton Bulletin* in 1894 mentioned the Northwest Irrigation Act on only one occasion, a news note to the effect that Colonel Dennis had passed through town on his way to organize irrigation surveys "under the new Act."

Generally speaking, the newspapers in the irrigation belt were strongly pro-irrigation (*Macleod Gazette*, *Lethbridge Herald*, etc.). Editors in the dry fringe beyond the irrigation belt, mingled envy with approval, as did the *Moose Jaw Times*. Those in less arid districts varied in attitude from the indifference of the *Edmonton Journal* to the frank hostility of the *Winnipeg Nor'-Wester*. Expressions of approval usually combined interest in the eventual development of irrigation with the enthusiastic, and unfulfilled, expectation of large local expenditures of public money.<sup>30</sup> Disapproval usually took the form of deploring the waste of government money on areas unfit for settlement when so many worth

<sup>28</sup>*Sessional Paper*, no. 13, 1895, part 1, no. 3, p. 31.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, 1892, part 1, p. 11.

<sup>30</sup>See the *Macleod Gazette*, Aug. 3, 1894, report of a meeting of the local irrigation league to hear the experiences of their delegate to the irrigation lobby in Ottawa.



while objects for expenditure were available in more suitable sections of the Territories.

The radical effect of the legislation, on property rights, seems completely to have escaped the attention of the commentators. One can imagine the consternation with which they would have greeted any proposal to treat property in land as the Northwest Irrigation Act had treated property in water, by vesting all ownership in the Crown and granting leases for use only, subject to revocation at the discretion of officials for abandonment, wasteful use, or non-use.

In its way, the assertion of public ownership of surface water, and the transfer of its control from private interests to bureaucrats, was a reform almost equal in importance to the socialization of land.

The men who were responsible for the reform, Mr. Pearce and Colonel Dennis, the Honourable T. Mayne Daly, and the officials of the C.P.R. Land Department, were certainly upholders of private enterprise, yet the appreciation of the Northwest Irrigation Act published by its chief sponsor in 1895, might easily have been written by any commissar in a planned economy: "The abolition of riparian rights, vesting the control of the water in one central authority so that the same may be applied in the most economical and beneficial manner, was, of course, the most important point of the Act. This enables the waters of the Territories to be so applied that each separate application of considerable moment may be one of the connecting links of a scheme under which all the waters within the limits of the Act may ultimately be so applied that the maximum use of them may be obtained."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>*Sessional Paper*, no. 13, 1895, part 1, no. 3, p. 31.



## GOLDWIN SMITH AND SOCIAL REFORM

GOLDWIN SMITH is best known and most criticized for his advocacy of the absorption of Canada by the United States. His interest in the social problems of his day and his practical participation in efforts to solve them are matters of less common knowledge. Canadian social legislation is in the main a product of the twentieth century, although some provisions for public health, as for factory and employers' liability legislation, are to be found in the nineteenth century. The influence of Scottish and English settlers may be traced in the early concern for education. Prior to 1900, however, public provisions for social welfare, in the modern sense, were in general conspicuously absent.

The British North America Act was drawn up at a time when laissez-faire was the dominant political theory although there were already many departures in practice from strict adherence to the doctrine. The years between 1867 and 1900 saw a remarkable development in public opinion concerning the responsibility of the state for the social well-being of its citizens. During this period and particularly during the eighteen-eighties, people began to question the earlier assumption that poverty resulted primarily from personal inadequacy and that destitution was the just reward of those who had demonstrated their lack of fitness to survive. Canadian interest in social problems was quickened by the widespread depression of the eighties, marked in England by such phenomena as the founding of the Social Democratic Federation and the Fabian Society, by the strikes of the match-girls and dockers in London, and by the development of the settlement and charity organization society movements. Canadian journals of the time gave much space to animated discussion of these events and to speculation about the current new doctrines of socialism. The most cogent writing of the period came from the pen of Goldwin Smith, the English Liberal and former Oxford don who made his home in Toronto from 1871 on. The *Canadian Monthly*, the *Bystander*, and the *Week* are full of the caustic criticism and penetrating if biased analysis of this observer who, although he lived in Canada for forty years, never became Canadian in his point of view. Despite his enthusiasm for a partisan role, he yet managed to watch the Canadian scene with an amused aloofness and frequent disdain which did little to endear him to his fellow-townsmen. His belief in the doctrines of mid-nineteenth

century liberalism was so deep-rooted that he never reached Mill's acceptance of their modification by the tenets of the new socialism. Goldwin Smith nevertheless proved himself actively interested in social reform, though by no means always an advocate of securing this end through government intervention. On social welfare questions, as on other problems, his views were incisive, and he never lacked courage in proclaiming them before an audience which was likely to be unsympathetic.

When talking in 1872 to the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal on the labour movement, he declared his belief in the aims of the movements for a nine-hour day and for the early closing of shops, but stressed his conviction that it was impossible, with any approach to reason or justice, to introduce legal regulation of these matters.<sup>1</sup> While he considered that well-spent leisure was a condition of civilization now desired by everyone, he thought that this goal should be won by voluntary arrangement, not by public legislation. If the contention were true that as much work could be produced in a shorter working day, Goldwin Smith held that the employer would in that event see his own interest, and the desired result be produced by free contract. This argument he carried to its logical conclusion by maintaining that everyone had a right to whatever his labour would fetch, and that he saw "nothing shocking in the fact that a mechanic's wages are now equal to those of a clergyman, or an officer in the army, who has spent, perhaps, thousands of dollars on his education." Logical or not, the point of view was not widely held at the time. Despite the predilections of his audience, he concluded by emphasizing his conviction, as a disciple of Comte that, above all trade unions and organizations of every kind, there was "the great union of Humanity."

If he attacked government intervention to control hours of work, Goldwin Smith was yet among the earliest advocates in Ontario of the establishment of a system of public welfare. He was not only primarily responsible for persuading the city of Toronto to appoint a public relief officer, but himself paid that official's salary for the first two years.<sup>2</sup> Unenthusiastic as he was about the extension of the functions of government, the depressions of the eighteen-seventies and eighties convinced him that the relief of those in need could no longer be entrusted to the sporadic support of private charity. In 1881 the *Bystander* described as a "dream of the past" a recent comment by a prominent citizen that

<sup>1</sup>*Canadian Monthly*, II, Dec., 1872, 529-32.

<sup>2</sup>Arnold Haultain, *Goldwin Smith, His Life and Opinions* (Toronto, 1903), 238.

no one in Canada who was willing to work need want bread.<sup>3</sup> The article went on to attack the theory that the young countries of the new world could not suffer from the social maladies of the old, since "we forget that they have really lived ten centuries in one, and that, in the parts of the Continent longest settled, they have come nearly up to the level of those of the Old World in every characteristic of maturity, and in liability to pauperism among the rest." In a Christian nation, he maintained, no one, however culpable, could be allowed to starve. At that time, as at most others, the poor-law system of Great Britain was in ill-repute. Goldwin Smith sympathized with the general dislike of introducing such a system into Ontario (although a similar one had long been in force in the Maritimes), yet he believed that to some "public and regular provision for the poor" it would probably be necessary to come. The Toronto House of Industry, which received a subsidy from the city, already closely approximated English poor-houses. In the following year the *Bystander* referred to the rapid industrialization of the country as necessarily creating cases of individual misfortune.<sup>4</sup> Unselective immigration was bringing into Canada in increasing numbers many who had been dependent upon public assistance in the old country. The Toronto Conference of Combined Charities reported that thirty or forty persons a year were sent to the city jail, not because they had committed any offence, but simply as a means of giving them shelter and saving them from starvation. The *Week* protested that there must be some serious defect in the social structure of a country which placed a premium upon committing petty offences for those who were willing and able to work, simply to get board and lodging for the winter in the common jail.<sup>5</sup> The inhabitants of the jails also included the mentally and physically ill as well as the destitute. The scramble of private charitable agencies for donations soon reached such a pitch that "it might be thought that both in the United States and Canada the community was dependent on alms, if one were to judge from the anxiety with which the opening of every will is watched, to see what the dead man has left to charities. Testamentary munificence is represented as a public obligation to be enforced by the penalty of a thinly attended funeral."<sup>6</sup> The 'bystander', writing in the *Week*, characterized as

<sup>3</sup>*Bystander*, II, 1881, 246-8.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, III, 1883, 206-7.

<sup>5</sup>*Week*, Jan. 18, 1889.

<sup>6</sup>*Bystander*, III, 1883, 208-9. The article concluded on the modern note that "men will not strive to make money unless they are allowed to enjoy it with freedom; and unless men strive to make money, industrial enterprise will expire, and those who live by it will be deprived of their bread."

absurd the theory that individual independence would be undermined by substituting a public relief officer for the "half organized visiting, the blind benevolence, and the ridiculous employment of the chief magistrate of the city as a superintendent of tramps, which constitute our present system."<sup>7</sup>

In 1889 Goldwin Smith delivered a presidential address to the Conference of Combined City Charities of Toronto. In this he again dissented from the view that public relief need be more demoralizing than the harshness and capriciousness of private charity, urging that "responsibility in the last resort must rest somewhere, and it can scarcely be thrown even on the most devoted volunteers."<sup>8</sup> Instead of being content, in accordance with the prevalent view, to consider poverty the fault of the individual, he held that destitution arose from a variety of causes, among which must be numbered misfortune, ill-health, old age, and accident, as well as from individual improvidence.<sup>9</sup> The period was one of scepticism and intellectual perplexity. Questioning of the old belief in the divine ordination of the existing form of society was not confined to the intelligentsia. Working men were becoming less willing to have fulfilment of their claims for a modest degree of comfort and enjoyment postponed to another world. One of the earliest journals to advocate public employment bureaux, the *Week*, argued that it was "surely both right and feasible that in this land of plenty and of industry no one who is able to work should suffer for want of an opportunity to earn at least the necessities of life."<sup>10</sup> Goldwin Smith believed wholeheartedly that those able to work should do so, but that the government could not remain indifferent as to whether work was or was not available.

Coupled with this insistence upon individual initiative on the part of the able-bodied, he displayed a concern, not at all typical of his day, with the lack of any provision for the care of those who were unable to look after themselves, like the old and the sick.

<sup>7</sup>*Week*, I, Dec. 13, 1883.

<sup>8</sup>*Social Problems*, an Address delivered to the Conference of Combined City Charities of Toronto on May 20, 1889 by Goldwin Smith, President of the Conference (Toronto, 1889), 4-5.

<sup>9</sup>That Goldwin Smith was not unique, although he was certainly unusual, in holding such views at the time, may be seen from an article by John Hay, "Socialistic Schemes" (*Queen's Quarterly*, III, Apr., 1896, 292), which stated, "The present social garment covers some too well, while many are naked. . . . When we have eliminated every collateral cause of poverty, as intemperance, laziness, mental and physical disability, the question remains still unsolved. Shall we say to those who are in wretchedness and want, 'There is no relief; you are under a fatal necessity to be born, and live and die a pauper.' We cannot, as free moral agents, speak after this fashion."

<sup>10</sup>*Week*, Nov. 14, 1890.

The methods of public charity still practised in many places, by which the aged and infirm were consigned to the common jails, he characterized as "a disgrace to the municipalities, and a reproach to the country."<sup>11</sup> How unusual this point of view was at the time, is illustrated by an attack on public relief in Toronto, published as late as 1905 by J. J. Kelso, who later became Ontario's first superintendent of neglected children. He urged that the poor could not be helped with money they had not earned and that "pauperism exists only because of charity and would soon pass away if almsgiving ceased."<sup>12</sup>

Goldwin Smith similarly supported protective legislation for children, holding that they, like old people and invalids, were not in a position to protect themselves and therefore had a reasonable claim upon the state. On these grounds the *Week* regarded the establishment of a children's aid society in Toronto in 1891 as among the wisest of modern philanthropies.<sup>13</sup> A year later the society's first annual report was greeted with the comment that "happily the old extreme views with regard to the absolute right of control of parents, no matter how incompetent or vicious, over their children, are passing away, and the claims of humanity and a Christian conception of human brotherhood are beginning to prevail." For similar reasons, Goldwin Smith was among the early supporters of public parks and playgrounds, described by the *Bystander* as "the safety-valves of city life."<sup>14</sup> Social legislation in the twentieth century is often considered as a double insurance, not only against unemployment and sickness and accident, but against violent disruption of the social framework. The germ of the same idea is found in an article of 1890 which asked: "Can any one . . . doubt that to give . . . boys facilities for harmless play, at whatever cost, would be to make one of the best paying investments, to put it on the low ground of financial results, that could be made of civic funds. Watching and catching and punishing culprits, young and old, are expensive operations. Will not some city or community some day become wise enough to try the experiment of prevention, thoroughly and systematically?"<sup>15</sup>

If Goldwin Smith was unusual in advocating public relief, and parks and playgrounds, he was equally unusual in attacking com-

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, Nov. 30, 1894.

<sup>12</sup>*Poorhouses and 'Charity'* (Toronto, 1905), 8-11.

<sup>13</sup>*Week*, July 10, 1891.

<sup>14</sup>*Bystander*, Aug., 1890, 350-1. Goldwin Smith gave a practical demonstration of his belief in the municipal provision of recreational facilities, when he left his house and grounds to the city of Toronto for use as an art gallery.

<sup>15</sup>*Week*, July 18, 1890.

pulsory public education and the provision of free libraries, as unjustifiable extensions of the activities of government. The proposal that novels should be circulated at public expense provoked his particular ire, as being no more legitimate than the provision of free theatre tickets.<sup>16</sup> Had the advocates of public libraries confined themselves to asking for a good reference library with a reading-room, the *Bystander* thought that a case might perhaps be made for the suggestion. It added wryly that "experience has apparently proved that of the books taken out of lending libraries two-thirds at least are . . . novels, the taste for which hardly needs to be stimulated by subsidies from the public purse."<sup>17</sup> Free education Goldwin Smith described as a vast system of public relief, for the most part received by those who did not need it.<sup>18</sup> With the same frankness which impelled him to tell the Mechanics' Institute his views on trade unions and on legal restrictions upon hours of work, in addressing the teachers at the normal school he disclosed what he supposed "would be generally regarded as the scandalous fact that . . . [he] was not a thorough-going believer in the system of state schools."<sup>19</sup> This was something of an understatement, since he held that the duty of a father to provide education for his children was as obvious as his responsibility for seeing that they were clothed and fed. In a vein reminiscent of Herbert Spencer, he expressed his scorn for those "who would not only educate the children of the poor gratuitously, that is, out of the public taxes, but would give the school-children meals and even clothes at the public expense. They can scarcely doubt that of such a system of almsgiving, widespread pauperism would be the fruit. When the duty is undertaken by the state, parental duty in regard to education and whatever goes with it of family character, must expire."<sup>20</sup>

Goldwin Smith's views on social reforms, characteristically enough, were more notable for decisiveness and for pungency of expression, than for consistency. Like many other liberals of his day, he preferred to limit the functions of government to as narrow a sphere as possible, but was not prepared to see people starve through want of state action. Humanitarian by temperament, as practically indicated by the considerable amount of time and

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, I, Dec. 13, 1883.

<sup>17</sup>*Bystander*, III, 1883, 105.

<sup>18</sup>*Canada and the Canadian Question* (Toronto, 1891), 45-6.

<sup>19</sup>*Canadian Magazine*, XVIII, 1901-2, 222. This confession elicited an editorial rebuke in a subsequent issue of the same journal (XX, 1902-3, 196).

<sup>20</sup>*Essays on Questions of the Day* (New York, 1893), 12-13.

energy which he devoted to matters of social welfare, he was very far from believing with Hobhouse that there was no "deep or abiding conflict between those two branches of the humanitarian movement which are frequently contrasted under the names of liberalism and socialism."<sup>21</sup> His conception of the function of government in social affairs was midway between the positions of laissez-faire and of collectivism. In this respect he was highly typical of the age of transition in which he lived, and in which were sown many of the seeds of the modern enthusiasm for government action to ensure at least a modicum of social well-being. His own words give a fair description of his attitude. "The opinions of the present writer are those of a Liberal of the old school as yet unconverted to State Socialism, who looks for further improvement not to an increase of the authority of government, but to the same agencies, moral, intellectual and economical, which have brought us thus far."<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>L. T. Hobhouse, *Democracy and Reaction* (London, 1909), 243.

<sup>22</sup>*Essays on Questions of the Day*, preface, v.



## FURTHER DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE UNION OF NEWFOUNDLAND AND CANADA, 1886-1895<sup>1</sup>

THE defeat of the Confederates in Newfoundland in the general election of 1869<sup>2</sup> scotched, but did not kill, the union movement. It remained alive in the hopes and minds of a few political leaders both in Canada and Newfoundland. Alfred B. Morine,<sup>3</sup> a Nova Scotian who had become a leading figure in island politics, and whom Sir John A. Macdonald called "a very clever fellow,"<sup>4</sup> was an ardent supporter of Confederation. Morine was well known in Ottawa where he had been a press correspondent for several maritime newspapers, and during the eighteen-eighties he wrote to Sir John A. Macdonald keeping the Canadian prime minister informed on political gossip and developments in his adopted land. Several of Morine's letters are to be found in the Macdonald Papers in the Public Archives of Canada. On November 18, 1886, Morine wrote to Macdonald from St. John's suggesting that the time was approaching when negotiations between Canada and Newfoundland might be resumed with some chance of a favourable outcome:<sup>5</sup>

... I am of opinion that it is *possible* that matters may be so arranged as to bring about the despatch of a delegation to Canada, or some public action in the same direction, before the Dominion elections take place, provided that be not before say June next, but there is not even a possibility of any such action being taken before the Assembly has the public accounts of 1886 before it; and in the meantime much work must be done quietly. The position is briefly this: The people look

<sup>1</sup>Several documents dealing with the negotiations of 1869 will be found in G. F. G. Stanley, "Sir Stephen Hill's Observations on the Election of 1869" (*Canadian Historical Review*, XXIX, no. 3, Sept., 1948, 278-85).

<sup>2</sup>For a discussion of the election of 1869 see H. B. Mayo, "Newfoundland and Confederation in the Eighteen Sixties" (*Canadian Historical Review*, XXIX, no. 2, June, 1948, 125-42).

<sup>3</sup>Honourable (later Sir) Alfred Bishop Morine was born and educated in Nova Scotia. After serving as a newspaper correspondent, he moved to Newfoundland where he became editor of the St. John's *Mercury* (1883-5) and the St. John's *Evening Herald* (1889-91). Subsequently he was called to the bar both in Nova Scotia and in Newfoundland. He entered politics and in 1886 was elected to the House of Assembly as member for Bonavista. He served on several occasions as a member of delegations to England to discuss questions relating to the French shore. Morine was always a strong supporter of union with Canada and broke with Sir William Whiteway on this issue. He served successively as colonial secretary, minister of finance and customs, minister of marine and fisheries and minister of justice. From 1924-8 he was a member of the Legislative Council and Government leader in the Council. He was knighted in 1928 and died in Toronto in 1944.

<sup>4</sup>Public Archives of Canada, Tupper Papers, vol. 3, Macdonald to Tupper, Sept. 12, 1887.

<sup>5</sup>P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, Miscellaneous, vols. 1-2, 1886-7, Morine to Macdonald, Nov. 18, 1886.

with increasing favor upon Confederation, the merchants with less favor than in 1869. The Government is a Merchants' Government, and surprisingly unpopular. The fisheries have failed, and to protect the Merchants and relieve distress the Government have been and are expending immense sums. To meet the expenditure, the tariff must be increased, and as this was done during the late session, it would be ruinous if repeated. But not only must this year's expenditure be provided for. The condition of the people cannot possibly be improved for a twelve-month to come, and during this time the expenditure must be increased while the revenue decreases. Railway work is demanded on all sides, and the Government will yield to the clamor. The Premier,<sup>6</sup> a weak man, is intensely ambitious of being knighted, and the Governor is also extremely anxious of Imperial favor. Both are under the influence, to a considerable extent, of Sir Ambrose Shea,<sup>7</sup> and the latter would do almost anything for the Lieutenant-Governorship of Newfoundland were it in the Dominion. At present he is in England, seeking an Imperial appointment, and the moment is opportune for decided action. One of his missions is to get the Premier knighted during Jubilee year, and in the hope that he may succeed he has been sent home ostensibly to procure Imperial assent to the Bait Bill.<sup>8</sup> Now it appears to me that it should not be difficult to get the Home Government to say to Shea, *very plainly* "if you want an appointment—, and Thorburn knighthood, you must bring Newfoundland into confederation first, and then you and he shall have what you seek." For such a price I believe they would do that which you desire, and the opportunity should not be lost. If this suggestion strikes you as a good one, I think that action should *at once* be taken, before Shea secures recognition at home. It strikes me that if a delegation were to go from Newfoundland to Canada about confederation just before the Dominion elections, it would have a beneficial effect in the Maritime Provinces. I think, by the way, that a letter from the Colonial Secretary to Governor Des Voeux<sup>9</sup> saying that the union of this Colony and the Dominion would be an acceptable event in Jubilee Year would have a beneficial effect upon confederation.

I have had a private conversation with Sir William Whiteway,<sup>10</sup> and find that he is strongly in favor of confederation. Although out of politics temporarily, the whirligig of popular favor has turned to his side, and he is today by all odds the

<sup>6</sup>Honourable (later Sir) Robert Thorburn, premier of Newfoundland 1885-9.

<sup>7</sup>Sir Ambrose Shea entered the Newfoundland Assembly in 1850 and in 1864 was sent as a delegate to the Quebec Conference. In 1883 he was named commissioner to the Fisheries Exhibition in London. He was knighted the same year. In 1887 he became governor and commander-in-chief of the Bahama Islands which appointment he held until 1895 when he retired to England. Considerable excitement prevailed in Newfoundland in 1886 over the rumour that Shea was to be appointed governor of the colony; such an appointment would, apparently, have been unpopular. Morine, at least, seems to have had little regard for Sir Ambrose.

<sup>8</sup>The Bait Bill of 1886 forbade the export of bait from Newfoundland waters except under special licence from the receiver-general. The intention of the bill was to cut off bait supplies to the French fishermen and thus curtail their fisheries on the Banks. The bill was reserved by Governor Des Voeux for the consideration of the imperial authorities. In 1887, owing to the representations of Shea and Thorburn, the British government agreed to allow the bill to become law on Jan. 2, 1888, on the understanding that it would not be applied to Canada.

<sup>9</sup>Sir George William Des Voeux, governor of Newfoundland, 1886-7.

<sup>10</sup>Sir William Vallance Whiteway was born in England. He was called to the bar in Newfoundland in 1852 and in 1858 entered the House of Assembly. He was a supporter of Sir Frederick Carter whose administration went down to defeat in 1869 on the issue of confederation. On Carter's return to power, Whiteway became solicitor-

most popular man in Newfoundland. He regards Confederation as an event likely soon to take place, and will work for it. This secures absence of effectual opposition to any scheme the Government may propound, and that is a great point gained. Our interview was confidential, but he permitted me to say this much to you. . . .

Morine wrote also to Sir Charles Tupper, then Canadian high commissioner in London. A letter dated July 20, 1887,<sup>11</sup> ran, in part, as follows:

. . . It may be that on your return from England to Canada you could travel via this place,<sup>12</sup> and as the steamer usually remains here from twelve to eighteen hours, you would be able to talk over the matter with the Government, which would very quickly convince you as to the practicability of Confederation in the near future. To date, the fishery is a failure, the Colony is in a miserable condition, and if it continues so, I am of opinion that in October you would find Confederation popular.

Sir Ambrose Shea returned one week ago, bringing with him the consent of the British and American Governments to the negotiation of a direct treaty between the United States and Newfoundland in reference to the fisheries.<sup>13</sup> I have today learned this fact from a gentleman to whom Sir Ambrose Shea showed the correspondence. Shea is now arranging with our Government the basis of the treaty, which he proposes to make "reciprocity in fish and the admission of our copper ore by the United States." Needless to say to you, this would be injurious to Canada in her struggle with the United States, and the mere mention of the possibility of such treaty would work untold mischief to the Dominion. In return for our bait, and to spite Canada, the United States would consent to our limited competition in her markets, and Newfoundland would thereby be enabled, both as regards fish and copper ore, to replace Canada. Shea wants to be Consul-General at New York, and he possesses a letter written to him by Minister Phelps<sup>14</sup> in a most eulogistic strain expressing the hope that he would be appointed. This letter I believe to have been procured through Secretary Bayard,<sup>15</sup> with whom Shea curried favor in 1885 by arranging the continuation of the Washington treaty for six

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general and in 1878 he became premier. In 1885 he was defeated by Thorburn but was returned to power in 1889. In 1894 Whiteway's government was forced to resign but in January, 1895 he again became premier and resumed negotiations with Canada for the entry of Newfoundland into the Canadian federation. In 1897 he resigned office. In 1904 he made an unsuccessful attempt to re-enter Newfoundland politics, his lack of success being attributed to his supposed sympathies for union with Canada.

<sup>11</sup>Macdonald Papers, vols. 1-2, 1886-7, Morine to Tupper, July 20, 1887.

<sup>12</sup>I.e., St. John's.

<sup>13</sup>Tupper wrote to Macdonald, August 17, 1887: ". . . I duly received the copies of correspondence with Morine re N.F. and now enclose a copy of his letter to me—so soon as I received it I went to Sir R. Herbert and he assured me that N.F. would not be allowed to do anything with the U.S. until it had been submitted to this Government and he promised to let me see any proposal from N.F. on that subject before action was taken—I quite agree with what Morine says respecting both the fisheries and confederation of N.F. and think it would be well confidentially to sound the Govt. of N.F. upon the subject . . . if you thought it desirable I could return via Halifax and calling at N.F. have a confidential conference with the Govt. as to the terms on which they would be willing to come in. . . ." Tupper Papers, vol. 3.

<sup>14</sup>Edward John Phelps, United States minister to Great Britain, 1885-9.

<sup>15</sup>Thomas Francis Bayard, secretary of state (United States) during the Cleveland administration, 1885-9.

months *free of charge*.<sup>16</sup> This amply illustrates what I have hitherto asserted to you, that Sir Ambrose Shea can on no account be depended upon by Canada. I have today telegraphed facts to Sir John Macdonald, suggesting to him the advisability of procuring delay in proceedings here, for I fear that otherwise some definite action may be taken before this letter can reach you. I send this information and the telegram to Sir John, at considerable risk to myself politically, but I desire to serve you, and hope that you will consider that I have done so effectually. You can rely upon this information.

Morine's suggestion that Tupper should visit St. John's met with the approval of the Canadian prime minister who, on September 11, cabled Tupper to visit Newfoundland on his way back to Halifax.<sup>17</sup> In reply to Tupper's request for instructions Macdonald wrote:<sup>18</sup> "... You ask what line you are to take. I can scarcely answer that question. You have the Sessional papers containing the report of negotiations with Carter, Shea & others.<sup>19</sup> You will find enough to suggest subjects for discussion with the Island Govt. Meanwhile I have set McGee<sup>20</sup> to hunt up all the papers which I shall send you next mail."

Neither Tupper's autobiography<sup>21</sup> nor his papers in the Public Archives throw much light upon the conversations with Premier Thorburn in St. John's. Tupper's biographer, E. M. Saunders, merely states that Sir Charles was the guest of Sir Ambrose Shea and that in addition to Thorburn, "the Hon. Mr. Winter, the Hon. Mr. Whiteway, and Messrs Bond and Morine, all members of the Legislature, called upon him and discussed the question of Confederation."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>16</sup>The Treaty of Washington, 1871 between Great Britain and the United States opened the inshore fisheries of the Canadian Atlantic coasts and of Prince Edward Island to American fishermen. In 1874 a protocol was signed extending the provisions of the Treaty to Newfoundland. In return, Canadian and Newfoundland fishermen were given the right to fish on the sea coasts of the United States north of the 39th parallel of north latitude. Owing, however, to the greater value of the fishery rights extended to the United States provision was made in the Treaty for the appointment of a commission to determine the excess value and award compensation to Canada and Newfoundland. The commission met in Halifax in 1877, Newfoundland being represented by Whiteway. The terms of the award were unpopular in the United States and the American government formally denounced the treaty in 1883. The treaty therefore expired, after the stipulated period of two years, on July 1, 1885. The expiration of the treaty in the middle of the fishing season involved certain practical difficulties which were overcome by the extension of the privileges accorded American fishermen under the treaty for a further six months, i.e., until the end of the year. During the years 1885-7 Newfoundland made an attempt to arrive at a separate understanding with the United States, negotiations being initiated by Sir Ambrose Shea. This effort to achieve a separate agreement was a source of great alarm to Canada which protested strongly to the imperial government against the unilateral action of Newfoundland.

<sup>17</sup>Tupper Papers, vol. 3, Macdonald to Tupper, Sept. 12, 1887.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup>*Canada Sessional Papers*, 1869, no. 51.

<sup>20</sup>John J. McGee, clerk privy council.

<sup>21</sup>Sir Charles Tupper, *Recollections of Sixty Years in Canada* (London, 1914).

<sup>22</sup>E. M. Saunders, *The Life and Letters of the Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, Bart.*, K.C.M.G. (London, 1916), 11, 92.

The conversations were apparently encouraging, for, on March 6, 1888, Lord Lansdowne sent the following telegram<sup>23</sup> to the governor of Newfoundland, Sir Henry Blake: "My ministers think that the question of the admission of Newfoundland into the Dominion might be conveniently discussed at the present time with the approval of your Government, and that no difficulty would be experienced in arranging terms. Could you send a deputation to Ottawa with power to negotiate? We consider such deputation should represent the Opposition as well as the Ministerial Party. As the Canadian Session has begun and may be short I would suggest the expediency of the deputation sailing by the steamer of 15th instant." On the same day the governor-general wrote to the colonial secretary:<sup>24</sup>

I have the honour to enclose herewith copy of a telegram which I have this day addressed to the lieutenant governor of Newfoundland intimating to him that in the opinion of my government the time had come when the question of the admission of Newfoundland to the federal union might be conveniently discussed, and suggesting that with this object the government should send to Ottawa immediately a deputation empowered to commence negotiations for the arrangement of the terms of admission.

I have to add in explanation of the step thus taken that the events of the last few months have had the effect of again directing attention to the inconveniences of the consequences which arise from the separation of Canada and Newfoundland whenever the commercial interests of both countries are involved in negotiations with a foreign power,<sup>25</sup> and that informal communications have lately taken place in reference to this subject between members of my government and some of the leading men of the Island, and notably the Honourable J. S. Winter, attorney general, who was deputed to watch the interests of Newfoundland during the progress of the conference which has been recently brought to a conclusion at Washington. The result of these communications has been to lead my government to believe that proposals for the incorporation of Newfoundland in the federal union—a contingency which is, as you are aware, provided for under section 146 of the British North America Act—would be favourably regarded by both political parties in that colony.

I shall make it my business to keep you informed of any further action which may take place in reference to this matter.

<sup>23</sup>P.A.C., Governor-General's Papers, G. 21, 184, Lansdowne to Governor of Newfoundland, Mar. 6, 1888. The 1888 correspondence was printed in *Canada Sessional Papers*, 1892, no. 70.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, Lansdowne to Sir Henry Holland, Mar. 6, 1888.

<sup>25</sup>Lansdowne is referring here to the renewal of the fisheries controversy following the expiration of the Treaty of Washington in 1885 and the efforts put forward by Newfoundland to reach a separate fisheries agreement with the United States (cf. *supra*, note 16). On April 27, 1885 Macdonald instructed Tupper to make "a pretty strong remonstrance" to the Colonial Office "for giving Newfoundland their assent to separate action without consulting us in any way" (Tupper Papers, vol. 2). Tupper was reassured by Sir R. Herbert that Newfoundland would not be allowed to act alone (cf. *supra*, note 13).

The government of Newfoundland, while not unwilling to reopen negotiations, moved with caution. On April 4, Sir Henry Blake informed Lansdowne:<sup>26</sup> "Serious differences of opinion exist on the subject of confederation, and my government is divided as to the time at which the delegation should be sent. As a compromise, I have suggested that in case the session of the Canadian parliament can be prolonged so as to permit of terms agreed upon by a delegation leaving here about June 1st being ratified this session, the delegation shall go about that date. Can your excellency's government arrange this? An early reply will much oblige me."

There was "no prospect" of the Canadian parliament continuing in session until June;<sup>27</sup> nevertheless plans were made for the despatch of the Newfoundland delegation on the 10th of that month. There were, however, repeated postponements of the proposed conference, the final postponement being to an indefinite date.<sup>28</sup> Tupper laid the blame for the collapse of the negotiations upon Sir William Whiteway<sup>29</sup> although the fact of an impending general election in the colony and the unwillingness of any political party to come out whole heartedly for a project which had been so decisively defeated at the polls in 1869 could not have been without some influence in determining political strategy in Newfoundland.<sup>30</sup>

The question of Confederation was tentatively broached during 1892 on the occasion of the Halifax Conference,<sup>31</sup> but the New-

<sup>26</sup>Governor-General's Papers, G. 21, 184, Blake to Lansdowne, Apr. 4, 1888.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, Lansdowne to Blake, Apr. 5, 1888.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, Blake to Lansdowne, Sept. 10, 1888; Blake to Stanley, Sept. 11, 1888.

<sup>29</sup>Tupper Papers, vol. 3, Tupper to Macdonald, Oct. 31, 1888. Tupper wrote "As regards N.F. I think Whiteway's change of base killed the mission, but it was better to have none than the voyage of exploration they proposed in the end. I felt sure you would refuse to treat on any such terms. Winter is here. He says that he believes that a decided majority of the Island would support it if fairly brought before them. . . . All Whiteway thinks of is to succeed Carter. I agree with you as to Shea and am not so sure as to the course he would take if Govr. of N.F. He has not an idea so far as I can make out beyond his own advancement." The Winter referred to in this letter was Sir James S. Winter, a prominent member of the legislature who was at this time agent for Newfoundland at the Washington Fishery Conference (1887-8). He was, for a period, leader of the Opposition to Whiteway and succeeded Whiteway as premier in 1897. Carter was Sir Frederick B. T. Carter who had represented Newfoundland along with Shea at the Quebec Conference in 1864 and whose pro-confederation administration was defeated in the election of 1869. In 1880 Carter was appointed chief justice, an appointment to which Whiteway, in Tupper's opinion, apparently aspired.

<sup>30</sup>R. A. MacKay (ed.), *Newfoundland, Economic, Diplomatic and Strategic Studies* (Toronto, 1946), 447.

<sup>31</sup>In 1890 Newfoundland, despite earlier undertakings, extended the application of the Bait Act to Canadian fishermen (cf. *supra*, note 8). This action together with the Canadian opposition to the ratification of the Bond-Blaine Convention led to a deterioration in Canadian-Newfoundland relations which was reflected in a tariff war between the two countries. The practical sympathy extended to Newfoundland by Canada following the St. John's fire led to an improvement in relations and the imperial



foundlanders were intent upon clarifying the fisheries issue and were not to be diverted by any "red herring . . . until a definite answer had been given by the Canadian delegates with reference to the proposals now before the Conference."<sup>32</sup>

It was in 1895 that the delegation proposed in 1888 finally proceeded to Ottawa to negotiate the terms of union. The collapse of the colony's financial structure was the real factor in bringing about a resumption of negotiations. During the early eighteen-nineties, Newfoundland's already shaky economy suffered severe shocks from the great St. John's fire of 1892, and the over extension of credit and the general stagnation of world trade; then on "Black Monday," December 10, 1894, the principal banking institutions of the colony, the Union and the Commercial banks, closed their doors. The distress and destitution occasioned by the bank failures was compared by a contemporary writer with that caused by the bursting of the South Sea Bubble.<sup>33</sup> D. W. Prowse, writing in 1896, described the situation as follows:

The year 1894 ended in gloom. Almost universal despondency prevailed throughout the Colony; the shadow of the awful disaster, the "crash" lay like a dark pall over the land. The stoppage of the banks, the run on the savings bank, and the failure of seven large mercantile houses, had a most widespread effect, almost universal distrust prevailed. In one form or another, as note holders, shareholders, or depositors, the whole population of the Colony lost by the banks. The narrow resources of widows and orphans; the painful savings of a lifetime, gathered in by rigid frugality, earned, a good deal of it, in constant danger and peril on the sea; all was lost in this tremendous failure.<sup>34</sup>

Under the circumstances Newfoundland turned to Canada for assistance. On January 12, 1895, Sir William Whiteway telegraphed the Canadian prime minister, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, asking for loans totalling \$550,000.<sup>35</sup> This telegram was followed by a private letter<sup>36</sup> which ran as follows:

I cabled you on the 12th as follows:—

"Understand your Government willing to assist this Colony. Such being the case, will you advance to Savings Bank \$400,000 on four per cent debentures of Colony

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authorities arranged for a conference at Halifax for a discussion of the points at issue. The conference met November 9-15, 1892. The Newfoundland delegates included Sir William Whiteway, R. Bond and A. W. Harvey; Canada was represented by Sir John Thompson, J. A. Chapleau, and Mackenzie Bowell.

<sup>32</sup>*Journals of the House of Assembly*, 1893, app., 335; quoted in MacKay, *Newfoundland*, 449.

<sup>33</sup>D. W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland* (2nd ed., London, 1896), 536.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, 538.

<sup>35</sup>Governor-General's Papers, G. 21, 184, Whiteway to Bowell, Jan. 12, 1895.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, Whiteway to Bowell, private and confidential, Jan. 14, 1895.



held by it, issued some years ago and also advance to Government \$150,000 upon four per cent debentures authorized but not issued under Act passed last year."

This I did in consequence of conversation with a friend of mine who was in communication with Mr. Carlisle, and, who intimated that your Government were willing to assist us in our present emergency.

The failure of the banks and of several mercantile firms has caused very great depression, and, although we have a large amount of securities consisting of bonds of the Colony in our Savings Bank, a sudden rush for specie may result in disaster.

Under these circumstances, I trust you may see your way to accede to our request, or in some other manner to help us out of our present difficulties.

I shall be very glad if you will cable; and, as it is of importance that our cable messages should be private, *may I ask you to adopt Slater's Code, 3rd Edition, taking seven words ahead.*

You know I have always been favourable to our becoming part of the Dominion, but since we were defeated in 1869, I have always abstained from advocating it. There now seems to be a strong disposition in its favour.

You will recollect our conversation in reference to this subject; and possibly you may have heard of a similar conversation which took place between the late Sir John Thompson and myself.<sup>27</sup> I think the views then expressed by him were to the effect that the terms mentioned in 1888 might form a basis for negotiation. Under these circumstances, can anything be done in that direction now? Of course you will understand that this is only preliminary, but in case of its being favourably entertained, would you approve of a conference with delegates from Newfoundland?

There is another matter of grave importance at this time. Our Legislature has lately passed a Bill to remove the disabilities from those who were unseated and disqualified. The Governor declined to assent to it without reference to the Imperial Government. A word from you in favour of its being assented to would have the desired effect; and our Government are very anxious to have it passed. I need hardly say that our friends would be very desirous of having with them some of us old hands who are now out of the Legislature. By this time the Bill will have reached the Colonial Office, and a cable from you urging its being assented to would be highly appreciated by us all.<sup>28</sup>

Bowell replied by telegram<sup>29</sup> on the 14th, "Canadian Government has no Parliamentary authority for making loan to any other Government. Can raise money only for public uses of Canada.

<sup>27</sup>These conversations took place on the occasion of the Halifax Conference, 1892 (cf. *supra*, note 31).

<sup>28</sup>Whiteway's motives were not entirely unselfish. Following the election of 1893, described by Frowse (531) as "marked by a remarkable outburst of personal abuse; both the political parties vied with each other in keeping up this indecent carnival of scurrility," the defeated Winter-Morine party filed a series of petitions in the Supreme Court under the Corrupt Practices Act against members of the successful Whiteway party. In consequence the Whiteway Government resigned office April 11, 1894, and Honourable A. F. Goodridge became premier. The success of Whiteway candidates in the by-elections of 1894 followed by the financial crisis led to another change of government in December when Goodridge was succeeded by the Honourable D. J. Greene. In January, 1895 an act was passed by a sympathetic legislature removing the disabilities of members unseated during 1894, and on January 31, 1895, Sir William Whiteway was asked to form a new administration.

<sup>29</sup>Governor-General's Papers, G. 21, 184, Bowell to Whiteway, Jan. 14, 1895.

Regret, therefore, that Government not able to assist your Colony as requested."

The official reply said nothing about the resumption of negotiations for the entry of Newfoundland into the Canadian federation; but a private and confidential letter from Bowell to Whiteway written on January 22,<sup>40</sup> after expressing the Canadian prime minister's regret but not his surprise that Newfoundland should be in financial difficulties, added:

I recollect the conversations and discussions we had at Halifax upon the subject of the admission of your Colony into the Canadian Confederation. I was then, as I am now, strongly in favor of that policy, believing it to be in the best interests of the Dominion and your Colony; and should, at any time, your Government make a proposition with a view to Newfoundland entering the Dominion, the Government of Canada would be very glad to give the matter their very best consideration. It would, however, be well to delay action for a short time, in view of the fact that our Parliament may meet in a very short time, or a new election be held. In either event, it would be impossible for members of the Government to give that attention to the subject which its importance demands.

I notice by the papers of this morning that the Imperial Government has instructed the Governor of Newfoundland to sanction the Bill to which you refer—which, I doubt not, will be very satisfactory to those interested.

Early in February Whiteway, now in the process of forming a government, wrote again privately to Bowell:<sup>41</sup>

I am at the present moment forming a Ministry and I presume we shall be sworn in to-morrow or the following day.

I am glad to learn that your views are so in accord with my own in relation to Union of Newfoundland with the Dominion. I shall take the earliest favourable opportunity after our Government is formed for bringing the matter forward when I have no doubt that formal communication will be made. As at present advised I do not think that postponement would be advantageous. However that is a matter which can be dealt with hereafter. I should hope that in case of its being deemed desirable the matter might be disposed of without unnecessary delay.

Possibly you may like to know the cause to which I attribute our present Commercial financial crisis. Its origin may be traced back several years. The older members of established firms having retired from business from time to time drew out large amounts of Capital, leaving limited means for the Juniors to continue business upon.

There were only two Banks in the Colony, the Directorates of which heretofore consisted of these older men and the banking was conducted on very conservative principles. As the elders dropped off, so the younger men became Directors. From former management a most implicit confidence existed in these Institutions. But the younger men with limited capital upon the directorate of the Banks, availed themselves of their positions for the borrowing for their firms very heavy amounts. Again altho' their capitals were limited, their business expanded and possibly some of them lacked that ability for the carrying on of the business of the country which the retiring partners possessed.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, Bowell to Whiteway, confidential, Jan. 22, 1895.

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, Whiteway to Bowell, confidential, Feb. 5, 1895.

Under these circumstances you will easily see how by liberal dividends, apparently fair statements, and amounts put aside every year to Rests, the Shareholders and Depositors were lulled into a sense of security which did not really exist.

Debts of the Directors' firms were placed in the Annual Statement under the heading of "Bills Discounted Promissory Notes Loans etc., etc." as good assets which were comparatively of small value and without investigation passed muster. Thus step by step debts increased until the final crash came.

Bowell's answer to this letter carried some advice but little comfort to the hard pressed Whiteway:<sup>42</sup>

I am in receipt of your favor of the 5th instant. I note from the telegraphic reports that you have succeeded in forming your Ministry, and are therefore, in a position to take such action as you may deem to be in the interest of your Colony, as affecting union with Canada. You are aware that I have long held to the view that the Canadian Confederation should be rounded off by the admission of Newfoundland.

Permit me to suggest that in a matter of such importance to your Colony and Canada, you should pursue the policy of Sir John Macdonald at the time of our Confederation. That is, by bringing in the leaders of the Opposition, in order that, when you come to Canada, you might be able to represent the views of all parties in Newfoundland. That, I believe, is the true road to success, and success is what I presume you desire.

I read with a great deal of interest, the reason advanced by you for the business troubles that have fallen upon your Colony. It is history repeating itself. It has been the case of large interests, built up by conservative and prudent men, passing into the hands of juniors and being wasted. We have seen the same results in Canada, and other young countries, as well as in England. Let me hope you may soon emerge from your difficulties. I certainly believe that there is room in Newfoundland for a much larger population than you have at present; but you will never get it while the country is controlled by a few merchants who fear interference with their business.

Meanwhile a prominent Orangeman and political associate of Alfred Morine, D. Morison,<sup>43</sup> wrote also to the Canadian prime minister on the subject of Confederation:<sup>44</sup>

My object in now writing is to say a word or two on the subject of the confederation of this Colony with Canada concerning which there has been some talk of late. The circumstances of the Colony have become so changed since the financial crisis of last month that it looks to me as if the question of confederation will be precipitated upon the attention of our people as the only outlet of escape from the evils that surround them at the present moment. Our condition as a Colony is desperate and our condition as a people is very little better. With your excellent banking laws in Canada you cannot realize how far-reaching has been the results of the

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*, Bowell to Whiteway, confidential, Feb. 15, 1895.

<sup>43</sup>The Honourable Donald Morison was a student and political associate of Sir James Winter (cf. *supra*, note 29). He was a co-member with Alfred Morine for Bonavista in the Newfoundland House of Assembly. In 1894 he entered the Goodridge ministry as attorney-general. Morison was a strong advocate of the union of Newfoundland and Canada believing union to be the ultimate destiny of the Island.

<sup>44</sup>Governor-General's Papers, G. 21, 184, Morison to Bowell, Feb. 5, 1895.

closing of our two local Banks here. They had the control of the whole of the financial business of the Colony and have been so badly wrecked that in the crash they have brought to the ground nearly every large mercantile firm, and have deprived the middle classes of their life-long savings, while to the fishermen and labouring classes, who comprise a very large proportion of our population, the present condition of affairs means present misery and prospective starvation. The business of the Colony was done very largely upon credit and the evils of the credit system permeated every avenue of business, from the humble fisherman who took his few dollars worth of supplies at long prices to the defaulting bank director who made use of his position to overdraw his account to the tune of half a million. With this system rudely broken it is easy to imagine the result. The fishermen who in the past would come to St. Johns in the months of April and May for their supplies for the summer fishery will come this year only to find that a small percentage of them will be able to obtain credit, and I can see nothing but starvation for hundreds of them as soon as their present resources are exhausted, which at the outside will be by the month of May.

The affairs of the Colony are in an equally bad condition. At present we are only existing upon the good nature of the Bank of Montreal which came to the assistance of the Government by advancing sufficient to meet the current liabilities due on December 31st and to help to keep the Savings Bank afloat. This assistance however cannot continue to be given for very long under present circumstances. Notwithstanding the altered circumstances of the Colony no change has been made in the mode of expenditure and no attempt has been made to retrench, and the Government is being pressed on all sides to afford relief to the destitute in all parts of the Colony. In St. John's \$1000 per week has been allocated for relief labour, which is only the thin end of the wedge. To you the amount may appear trivial, but it will rapidly increase, and in our circumstances will soon be alarming. Our normal rate of expenditure is about \$1,600,000 per year, which means that at present rate of going at least \$400,000 will be required on March 31st to meet current liabilities. Against this there will probably be \$60,000 to \$75,000 of revenue collected, and I cannot suppose that, with such an alarming difference between revenue and expenditure, the Bank of Montreal will again come to the relief of the Government.

This being our condition the minds of the people, particularly those of them who think, are turned in the direction of confederation as the most practicable solution of our difficulties, and knowing that you strongly support the far seeing policy of the late Sir John Macdonald of "rounding off the Dominion" by the admission of Newfoundland I venture to give you some information and a few hints which may be of service to you in dealing with the question.

As you may be aware I am at the present moment leader of the Opposition Party in the House of Assembly, and ever since I have had any political opinions I have been a strong supporter of the principle of confederation. The people here give me the credit of being an "honest" confederate as distinguished from some of our politicians, such as Sir William Whiteway and others, who are advocates of confederation when it suits their purposes and then only, and who have not had the courage to express any public opinions upon the question, while it has been unpopular. I believe so firmly that confederation with Canada is the ultimate destiny of this Colony, and offers the only practical solution of our difficulties, that I would be quite prepared to stand by and allow my greatest political opponent to carry the question if he was able. I merely mention this to show you that I am

honest in my convictions on the subject, and I would like you to believe that any suggestions I make to you concerning it are not rooted on my own personal or political advantage.

Now to come down to practical politics let me put the question before you as it appears to me at the present moment. I assume for the sake of argument that you and your Government are desirous of seeing Newfoundland become a part of the Dominion and that at the earliest time practicable, and that if it is made clear to you that confederation can be carried here as a political question you would be prepared to take hold of the question in a business-like fashion. My own opinion is that it would be very unwise on the part of Canada to accept Newfoundland as part of the Dominion, except with the free will of the people of Newfoundland expressed at the polls. Nova Scotia is an example of the drawbacks of taking in a Province without the expressed consent of the people, and the friction that existed in Nova Scotia would not be nearly as great as what you may expect here if the question is carried by a simple vote of the Legislature without an appeal to the people. Any attempt to carry the question without placing it before the people at a General Election would I believe fail, and even if it could be carried in that fashion, the subsequent troubles which must be expected to result would be sufficient to deter any public man who wished to continue in public life from making the attempt.

On the other hand there is no party here at the present moment of sufficient weight and popularity to carry the question at the polls, and it is only by a union of parties that such can be accomplished. The most favourable time to carry the question will be during the coming Spring, say during the month of May, and I would strongly advise you to make your plans accordingly. The people now look towards confederation as their chief hope of extrication from the present difficulties, but they will look at it differently if the question stands over until next fall after they have got through the Summer voyage. Our people are very changeable. There is a good deal of the Irish disposition about them and they are easily depressed and as easily uplifted again. If this is taken into account with all the other surrounding circumstances and matters are managed with discretion, I believe we would be celebrating Her Majesty's next birthday as a part of the Dominion.

The first step of course would be the sending of a delegation from here to ascertain the terms which could be obtained from you and I would advise, that this should be encouraged with as little delay as possible, but you should make it an especial point that any delegation from here should be representative of both parties in the Assembly. A delegation consisting of two members of the Government and one member of the Opposition in the Assembly would be sufficient, unless from motives of policy it may be considered advisable to add one member of the Legislative Council on each side of politics, making the deputation five in all. I think if you can get such a delegation to come, and if you treat them well while you have them, which you know so well how to do, the success of the question would be pretty well assured.

There are many other aspects and details of the question which I could give you, but I think I have given you a fair idea of the present aspect of the question as it unfolds itself to me. The present opportunity is too good to be missed, and if missed may not occur again for some time. I would therefore impress upon you the advisability of taking action along the lines that I have laid down above and I feel convinced that the result will justify your action.

As the time for action is short and it may be necessary for you to communicate by telegraph I would suggest that in any message to me you use Slaters Telegraphic Code, Third Edition, adding fifty (50) when sending and I will use the same code in replying. I would like you when you read this to wire me whether you concur generally in the ideas expressed—if so I could cautiously help along matters. As Grand Master of the Orange Association I have a more extensive acquaintance with the outport of the Colony than almost any other public man, and I have travelled more throughout the Island and done more public speaking in the different settlements than any of my political contemporaries. If I knew that the question of confederation was likely to come before the country as a live issue during the coming Spring, I could quietly do a lot of work between this time and then. The quieter the work can be done the better, and if there can be an understanding between both political parties here, there would I think be an advantage in not pressing the question until all arrangements are made for an Election and then work it for all it is worth. I would like to show this letter to our mutual friend N. Clarke Wallace, who I know holds strong views in favour of confederation, and if I do not see you before then I hope to have the pleasure of shaking hands with one or both of you at the Grand Lodge Meeting which is to be held at Halifax this year.<sup>45</sup>

Bowell replied to this long letter of advice without committing himself in any way:<sup>46</sup>

I have read with very much interest your long letter, and need scarcely say that with the greater part of it I am in full accord. In reply to Sir William Whiteway—with whom I have had some little correspondence—I have pointed out to him the advisability of securing the support of the Opposition in any scheme which may be propounded for the admission of Newfoundland into the Canadian Confederation. You will remember that in the Conference which arranged the basis of our Confederation, the leading men of all parties took part. If you could accomplish such a union of interests in your Colony, I think success would be sure to follow.

These overtures were followed up in February by an official request for a resumption of the Confederation negotiations. The governor of Newfoundland, Sir Terence O'Brien, wrote to the governor-general of Canada, the Earl of Aberdeen, on February 19:<sup>47</sup>

My Ministers having reference to the despatch of Governor General of date sixth March eighteen hundred and eighty eight, wherein the Dominion Government proposed conference to discuss question of admission of Newfoundland to the Federal Union concur in the proposition then made and consider this a favourable time for delegates from both Governments to meet and would suggest St. John, New Brunswick, or Fredericton if convenient with a view to arrangement of terms of Union that would prove honourable and advantageous to both countries. As the Legislature has been in session since December and will shortly close my ministers would be prepared to despatch a delegation at the earliest date.

<sup>45</sup>Morison was grand master of the Orange Association. Sir Mackenzie Bowell, to whom Morison wrote on the subject of Confederation, was also a prominent Orangeman, being at one time grand master and sovereign of the Orange Association of British America.

<sup>46</sup>Governor-General's Papers, G. 21, 184, Bowell to Morison, Feb. 15, 1895.

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*, O'Brien to Aberdeen, Feb. 19, 1895.



The union of Canada and Newfoundland was viewed with favour by the imperial authorities. The British government was, however, anxious to impress upon Canada that in acquiring Newfoundland the Dominion would be expected to assume responsibility for all treaty obligations with France and other countries regarding the Newfoundland fisheries. This particular point was dwelt upon at some length by the colonial secretary, the Marquess of Ripon, in a despatch to Aberdeen dated February 23, 1895.<sup>48</sup> It was also referred to in the following secret and confidential memorandum prepared for the Canadian Cabinet on February 22:<sup>49</sup>

The Governor General having to-day received a Confidential communication from the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, takes the earliest opportunity of transmitting its contents to the Privy Council, together with the copy of a telegraphic communication from the Governor of Newfoundland relating to the same subject.

The Secretary of State commences by remarking that His Excellency's attention will doubtless have been called to the deplorable state of affairs in Newfoundland, and observing that it is almost impossible that the present system of Government should continue, adds, that the solution of the difficulty most desired by Her Majesty's Government would be the union of the Colony with the Dominion of Canada.

Alluding to a recent speech of the Hon. Mr. Foster,<sup>50</sup> the Secretary of State gathers that the ideas of the Dominion Government are tending in the same direction, and expresses his hope that therefore this desirable object may be attained. He, however, points out that it must be borne in mind that if Canada takes over Newfoundland, she takes her over, with her obligations,—and that among those obligations, are the Treaty engagements with France, which, however irritating they may be, Her Majesty's Government is bound honestly to fulfil, and that hence the Canadian Government must not enter into the arrangement in any belief or hope that they will be able to escape from them. They hamper the development of the Colony,—they are a source of paltry and constant disputes,—but they are there, and cannot be repudiated.<sup>51</sup>

One of the principal reasons expressed by the Secretary of State for wishing to see Newfoundland united to the Dominion, is the confidence felt by Her Majesty's Government in the capacity of the Dominion statesmen to deal in a wide and comprehensive spirit with such questions as are now under review, but His Lordship reiterates that it is desirable that the Ministers of the Dominion should be under no misapprehension as to the necessities and duties which the

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, Ripon to Aberdeen, confidential, Feb. 23, 1895.

<sup>49</sup>*Ibid.*, Memorandum for the Honourable the Privy Council, secret and confidential, Feb. 22, 1895.

<sup>50</sup>Honourable (later Sir) George Eulas Foster was at this time minister of finance, an appointment which he held from 1888 to 1896.

<sup>51</sup>Does the agreement whereby Great Britain leased bases in Newfoundland to the United States not provide a similar problem for the Canadian government at the present time in the event of Newfoundland entering the Canadian federation as the tenth province?



Treaty Engagements impose upon the Imperial Government, or as to the fixed determination of every British Government, however it may be composed, faithfully and loyally to fulfil those duties.

Her Majesty's Government considers the passing of a satisfactory permanent Act for regulating the judicial and other arrangements for the administration of the Treaty Shore, a *sine qua non* for securing satisfactory and peaceful relations with France, and for the advance towards any better state of things than now exist; and upon this, in some shape or other Her Majesty's Government would be obliged to insist.

The Secretary of State considers it as essential that all matters connected with the Treaty Shore, should be brought under the competence of the Dominion instead of the Provincial Government.

The question of the provisions of a permanent Act is a very difficult one, and would have to be discussed by Her Majesty's Government with the Dominion Government, after they had fully informed themselves on the subject.

It is not improbable that any such legislation would have to be passed by the Imperial Parliament, because of the distribution of legislative powers by the British North America Act, and the Secretary of State points out that the Newfoundland Legislature must therefore, before the Union, renew the existing Act indefinitely, or until Her Majesty's Government and that of the Dominion have agreed as to what legislation should replace it.

It is suggested that it might possibly facilitate matters if, looking to the sparse population of the Treaty Shore, the Dominion were to administer this portion of Newfoundland on the principles on which they used to administer the North West Territories.

As the Privy Council is aware Her Majesty's Government have expressed their willingness to send a Royal Commission to enquire into the present condition of Newfoundland, and the causes which have brought about that condition if requested to do so by the Legislature of the Colony. If such a Commission should be appointed, it is probable that some considerable time would elapse before any report could be sent in and considered. With this in view the Secretary of State suggests that it is therefore possible that the Canadian Government, in order not to lose time, may prefer to negotiate at once for the incorporation of Newfoundland into the Dominion and remarks that if this should be their wish, there might be no need for Her Majesty's Government to take any steps in the matter of the suggested commission,—nor does she think it desirable that Her Majesty's Government should appear to be putting any pressure on the Colony to enter the Confederation as it might have an adverse effect on any negotiations that the Dominion Government may have in contemplation.

The Secretary of State, in conclusion, desires His Excellency to take an early opportunity of expressing "in strict confidence" these general views to his Ministers.

The delegates appointed to represent Newfoundland in the negotiations with Canada included the Honourable Robert Bond, colonial secretary, and the Honourable George H. Emerson, both members of the Legislative Council, and the Honourable E. P. Morris and the Honourable W. H. Horwood, members of the House of Assembly. Canada was represented by Sir Mackenzie

Bowell, Sir Adolphe Caron, the Honourable George E. Foster, and the Honourable John Haggart. The conference opened at Ottawa on April 4 with Sir Mackenzie Bowell as chairman and continued until April 16.

The financial details of the conference do not form part of this article. They may be found in the *Journals of the House of Assembly*, 1894-5; in the *British Parliamentary Paper* H.C. 104 March, 1895; and in the *Canada Sessional Papers* (no. 48) 1895.<sup>52</sup> It is sufficient here to note that the principal obstacle to an agreement was the unwillingness of Canada to go the full extent of assuming responsibility for Newfoundland's public debt. Between Canada's offers and Newfoundland's demands there existed a gap which could be bridged only by imperial assistance. An attempt was therefore made on the last day of the conference to secure aid from Great Britain. On April 16 Aberdeen wrote to the Marquess of Ripon:<sup>53</sup>

I have now the honour to enclose a memorandum, with copy of accompanying note from Sir Mackenzie Bowell setting forth the main features of the position in which matters stand in relation to the proposed confederation of Newfoundland with the Dominion of Canada.

Your Lordship will observe that there is a considerable gap between what Canada is prepared to offer and what Newfld. claims as necessary for the accomplishment of the desired union.

Under the circumstances I have to convey and express the earnest hope that H.M.'s Govt. may be prepared to take such action as would enable this gap to be bridged over.

It is unnecessary for me to allude to the many serious considerations which especially at the present time point to the importance of getting Newfld. incorporated with the Dominion as these will doubtless be fully present to Your Lordship's mind.

Mr. Bond, the leader of the Newfld. delegates further stated in reply to a question that they were fully empowered by their Govt. to give an undertaking to the above effect and that their Govt. have now a two thirds majority in the Legislature of Newfld.

I may add that the present Leader of the Opposition in that House is a strong advocate of Confederation.<sup>54</sup>

On May 1 Sir William Whiteway sent a telegram to Bowell<sup>55</sup> stating "In the absence of your assuming public debt and completion railway Port aux Basques, also providing six hundred and fifty thousand dollars for expenses, local government impossible

<sup>52</sup>The financial details are discussed in MacKay, *Newfoundland*, 450-9. A statement of the terms proposed on both sides will be found in Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland*, 552-5.

<sup>53</sup>Governor-General's Papers, G. 21, 184, Aberdeen to Ripon, Apr. 16, 1895.

<sup>54</sup>Referring to the Winter-Morison-Morine party.

<sup>55</sup>*Canada Sessional Papers*, 1895, no. 48, Whiteway to Bowell, May 1, 1895.

to accept terms of union. Can you not manage to arrange for these? If you do not concur, I must introduce alternative policy when House opens, consequently beg your early reply."

Bowell did not concur and the imperial government was not prepared to make any financial sacrifice for the sake of bringing about the union of Newfoundland and Canada. After several exchanges of letters the Marquess of Ripon, on May 9, sent a telegram to the Earl of Aberdeen of which the following is a paraphrase:<sup>56</sup> "His Majesty's Government regret that they cannot entertain the proposal of your Ministers. It would be impossible for them to approach Parliament on it. They have always stated that they could not enter into any question of Newfoundland finance without full enquiry and examination by a Royal Commission into the condition of the Colony. They are prepared to issue such a commission at once if asked to do so."

The whole question appears to have been brought to a close with Bowell's telegram to Sir William Whiteway of May 10<sup>57</sup> which ran as follows: "Lord Ripon's despatch, ninth May to Lord Aberdeen, forwarded to Governor of Newfoundland, will inform you of position taken by British Government. If Newfoundland adopts Lord Ripon's proposal, terms may be modified by aid from Home Government. If not, Canada can only supplement proposal made to your delegates by agreeing, in addition, to aid in construction of Newfoundland Railway from River Exploits to Port aux Basques by a subsidy of \$6,000 per mile and to add \$35,000 additional to yearly allowance."

The consolidation of British North America was a matter of great moment both to Canada and to Great Britain. Yet neither the political leaders of the Dominion nor those of the United Kingdom displayed qualities of statesmanship at this time; rather their conduct of affairs was marked by ineptitude and short-sightedness. It may be urged in extenuation that Mackenzie Bowell and the Earl of Rosebery were drifting with moribund parties towards political extinction. Nevertheless, one cannot help but deplore the opportunities lost and the fading of that magnificent vision which had captured the imagination of statesmen twenty years earlier and brought into being the young nation, Canada.

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<sup>56</sup>Governor-General's Papers, G. 21, 184, Ripon to Aberdeen, May 9, 1895.

<sup>57</sup>*Canada Sessional Papers*, 1895, no. 48, Bowell to Whiteway, May 10, 1895. The date is given as May 11 in Prowse (555) and MacKay (458). MacKay would seem to be in error in quoting the railway subsidy at \$5,000 per mile instead of \$6,000 per mile.

## A NOTE ON THE CITADEL OF QUEBEC

IT is perhaps a natural consequence of Canada's unmilitary traditions that myths and legends having no relationship whatever to historical truth should cluster thickly round her great military sites. The tales that are told concerning Fort Henry at Kingston afford a good example; and although the facts are not difficult to come by, it may fairly be assumed that the public will continue to tell and to believe for generations the stories of the fort having been built "wrong way round," a fort intended for Kingston (Jamaica) having been placed at Kingston (Canada) by mistake, and of an engineer officer committing suicide while on his way home to England for court martial.

The accounts commonly circulated and printed of the construction of the Citadel at Quebec are less dramatic but no less inaccurate. These accounts seem to owe a good deal to a book of considerable pretension to scholarship, A. G. Doughty and N. E. Dionne, *Quebec under Two Flags* (Quebec, 1903). The authors of this volume took some trouble to assemble evidence concerning the fortifications of the French and early British periods, but upon entering the nineteenth century they unfortunately seem to have lost interest, and after describing the works shown on Lieutenant-Colonel Nicolls's plan of 1816 they proceed: "These works served until the construction of the magnificent Citadel, in 1823. . . . In 1823 the first and last great permanent scheme was taken in hand and carried out during the next nine years to what was considered a satisfactory conclusion. The total cost was \$35,000,000.00. All the existing fortifications date from these years and nothing material has been added since."<sup>1</sup> The substance of this paragraph has been repeated many times by later writers<sup>2</sup> and it may be said to constitute the accepted version. Unfortunately, almost every word of it is nonsense. The Citadel was begun in 1820, not in 1823; the works carried out at this period did not cost \$35 million, or anything even remotely approaching that sum; and there are many parts of the fortifications standing at Quebec today which

<sup>1</sup>*Quebec under Two Flags*, 141. The authors demote Nicolls to captain.

<sup>2</sup>A very long list could be given. One of the most remarkable versions, particularly in the matter of cost, is that of J. F. C. Fuller in a note entitled "The Fortress of Quebec" (*Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, VII, 1928, 241-3). After repeating more or less the usual stories about the Citadel, General Fuller goes on to deal with the Levis forts (1865 ff.). He quotes "the Quebec 'Guide Book'" as stating that their cost was £75 million, but finding this hard to believe remarks that he thinks "dollars must be meant," which would reduce the bill to £15 million. He might advantageously have extended his incredulity further; the actual cost of the three forts to the completion of the last one in March, 1872 was £249,456 (Public Archives of Canada, Series C, vol. 1419, p. 65).

antedate, not merely the 1820 programme, but the British conquest.

There was never a citadel, properly so called, at Quebec until the one still existing was built. The need for such a work was felt immediately after the conquest, and was recommended by Murray in a dispatch of June 6, 1762,<sup>3</sup> with which he forwarded plans drawn by Captain Samuel Holland. Holland's plan for a citadel<sup>4</sup> was not unlike that ultimately followed in 1820, though his work was more "regular" in trace. It was not carried out, and the War of the American Revolution and the siege of 1775 found Quebec in a decidedly weak state. It appears that the home authorities ordered the construction of a citadel in 1778, but Governor Haldimand, finding his resources inadequate, had to content himself with "making such necessary preparations as can be done without interfering with our present Defences."<sup>5</sup> In October, 1779, he ordered Captain William Twiss, his commanding engineer, to construct a temporary citadel on Cape Diamond. By 1783 this work was virtually completed. Twiss did not interfere with the old French town walls, but he threw up extensive earthworks both in front and in rear of the left flank of these walls, occupying the whole of the high ground of Cape Diamond and enclosing a considerably larger area than that occupied by the modern Citadel.<sup>6</sup> The traces of his forward earthworks are still clearly visible in front of the Cape Diamond Bastion, and Doughty and Dionne are quite right in explaining that these earthworks are not (what they have often been called) "Old French Works." The War of 1812 found Quebec still without a proper citadel, though the position was strengthened, as the crisis approached, by the construction of a line of Martello towers across the Plains of Abraham, by the building of a ravelin and counterguards to cover and protect the central section of the town walls, and by throwing up an elevated battery known as the "King's Cavalier" or "Brock's Battery" on the high ground still visible inside the modern Richmond Bastion.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Quoted, with one accidental omission, in *Quebec under Two Flags*, 125-9. This portion of the book, based on documents, is useful. For transcript of the document, see P.A.C., Series B, vol. 7.

<sup>4</sup>Plan No. 2. Shewing the Ground wherein the Citadel is proposed to be built. . . . Undated. Shelburne MSS., vol. 64, pp. 191-3 (copy in P.A.C., Map Division).

<sup>5</sup>To Townshend, June 18, 1779 (quoted in *Quebec under Two Flags*, 132-3). (P.A.C., Series B, vol. 54.)

<sup>6</sup>P.A.C., Map Division, Plan of the New Works Erecting on Cape Diamond and which form the Citadel of Quebec shewing their State in October 1783.

<sup>7</sup>P.A.C., Map Division, Plan of Quebec Shewing the present State of the Works of Defence . . . 18th. March 1816. Signed by Lieutenant-Colonel G. Nicolls, C.R.E. The works of this period are very clearly represented on the great Duberger model in Public Archives.

The existing Citadel is a monument to the lively fears of further American aggression entertained by British statesmen and soldiers after the Treaty of Ghent. Its immediate origin was a recommendation made by the Duke of Richmond, governor-in-chief, 1818-19. On August 11, 1818 he wrote Lord Bathurst advising him that he intended to forward a plan by Lieutenant-Colonel E. W. Durnford, commanding royal engineer, for a citadel on Cape Diamond. "It strikes me," he wrote, "that without some strong place of this sort it will be almost impossible to defend ourselves against a dashing Enemy."<sup>8</sup> On November 10 of the same year he wrote a long dispatch on the defences of Canada generally, in which he renewed this recommendation, joining it with others, notable among which were the strengthening of Isle-aux-Noix and Kingston and the opening of a line of water communication between Montreal and Lake Ontario by way of the Ottawa and the Rideau.<sup>9</sup> This whole programme was ultimately carried out. The Duke of Wellington (master general of the ordnance), when his advice was asked, took it up with enthusiasm, assenting heartily to Richmond's ideas in a memorandum dated March 1, 1819.<sup>10</sup>

This seems to have done the trick. Ground was broken for Durnford's citadel at Quebec "in May 1820,"<sup>11</sup> and Durnford himself supervised the construction until it was finished, or practically so.<sup>12</sup> That he built well, the tourist whom his work still astonishes can testify; but apparently he was more skilful as a constructor than as an estimator. His original estimate of the cost of the Citadel was £70,000. The Defence Commission which visited Canada in 1825 reported that it was then "about 1/3 completed," and had so far cost £60,374. "An additional sum of £150,000 has been estimated by Colonel Durnford as necessary to finish the Work."<sup>13</sup> The ordnance estimates for 1831 give the ultimate total estimate as £236,540. The sum of

<sup>8</sup>P.A.C., Series C, vol. 1247.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.* The present writer has discussed some of the origins of this programme in "An American Plan for a Canadian Campaign" (*American Historical Review*, XLVI, Jan., 1941, 348-58).

<sup>10</sup>*Despatches, Correspondence and Memoranda of Field Marshal Arthur Duke of Wellington, K.G., Edited by his Son . . .* (8 vols., London, 1867-80), I, 36-44.

<sup>11</sup>P.A.C., Map Division, Ordnance Report on the present state of the New and Old Works of Fortifications and Buildings . . . throughout the Canadas, Royal Engineers Office, Quebec, 24th September 1823. The year is also given as 1820 in Copy of a Report to His Grace the Duke of Wellington . . . relative to His Majesty's North American Provinces by a Commission of which M. General Sir James Carmichael Smyth was President . . . 1825 (lithographed copy in Toronto Reference Library), 25.

<sup>12</sup>Mary Durnford, *Family Recollections of Lieut. General Elias Walker Durnford, A Colonel Commandant of the Corps of Royal Engineers* (Montreal, 1863), 126-7.

<sup>13</sup>Copy of a Report to His Grace the Duke of Wellington, 25.

£14,141 is provided for that year, with the remark, "This will complete the Estimate and the work."<sup>14</sup> As no appropriation for the Citadel appears in the next year's Estimates, it may be taken that this expectation was justified by the event, and the cost of the work may be stated as about £236,500. One wonders what a House of Commons then becoming increasingly parsimonious would have said if it had really cost the equivalent of \$35 million! It is difficult to find an exact date for the completion of the work, but in the light of the above evidence, plus the fact that Durnford himself was posted back to England in the autumn of 1831,<sup>15</sup> it seems fair to assume that the job was finished, in all essentials, during that year. Additions and alterations to the Citadel went on, of course, for many years.

What of the emphatic and repeated statement of Doughty and Dionne that "there are no old French works of any kind now in existence"?<sup>16</sup> It is not in accordance with the documents. Examination of the numerous plans of the Quebec works in possession of the Map Division of the Public Archives of Canada at once establishes that the trace of the still-existing bastioned wall facing the Plains of Abraham is identical with that which stood there in 1759, except on the left flank where it has been disturbed by the construction of the Citadel;<sup>17</sup> and the apparent belief of Doughty and Dionne that the French walls were torn down at the time the Citadel was built is disproved by the contemporary records. The walls were, indeed, carefully *repaired* at this period. An inventory of 1823 notes, under the heading "Line of Fortifications round the Garrison":

About two thirds of the whole extent of the walls are now completely repaired and the principal attention must now be directed to the old walls connected with the Citadel, many portions of which are in such a state of dilapidation and so exposed to the inclemency of the weather, that the frost dislodges many of the coping and face stones to the imminent danger of the passengers.—

The St. Louis, Glacier [*sic*] and Cape Diamond Bastions will be the chief places to attend to. Item No. 2 of the Ordnance Annual Estimates provides for a continuance of these repairs.<sup>18</sup>—

<sup>14</sup>*Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, 1831, vol. VI, no. 177.* Some minor items are also provided for Quebec.

<sup>15</sup>Durnford, *Family Recollections*, 126-7.

<sup>16</sup>*Quebec under Two Flags*, 143, cf. 141.

<sup>17</sup>Compare, for instance, the undated Plan of Quebec attributed to 1760, and obviously made soon after the siege of that year, with the traces in H. W. Hopkins, *Atlas of the City and County of Quebec* (n.p., 1879).

<sup>18</sup>Ordnance Report on the present state of the New and Old Works.



There is no trace in the ordnance estimates of any really large construction at Quebec, at this period, apart from the Citadel itself. And if a larger scheme of fortification had been carried out, it would certainly not, at this late date, have taken the form of city walls. These walls have undergone large repairs at different times, and it would be difficult to say exactly what stones remaining in them today looked out upon the Battle of the Plains; but it seems clear that in all essentials they are the same works which Montcalm's men defended. The most important change that has taken place is the removal of the old gates and the substitution of the deplorable "ornamental" ones constructed in Lord Dufferin's time—the worst crime committed against the old city previous to the construction of the Chateau Frontenac skyscraper. The various outworks of the city walls (the counterguards, etc.) have also vanished.

An important part of the French town walls was actually incorporated in Durnford's Citadel. One of Durnford's plans, dated 1823, bears the manuscript note, with reference to the front facing the Plains, "The construction of this Front was cramped by several considerations, such as . . . the necessity of joining the new work for reasons of economy to the old south West Front of the Fortress."<sup>19</sup> This plan, and others,<sup>20</sup> show that the Cape Diamond Bastion of the Citadel, and the curtain walls adjoining, are "old works"; and comparison with the trace shown on earlier plans leaves no doubt that this bastion of the present Citadel is simply the left flank of the old walls. The counterguard in front is, however, Durnford's.

Only one considerable part of the French town walls was demolished in connexion with the construction of the Citadel. This was the Glacière Bastion, the second from the left. The Citadel's Dalhousie Bastion was built slightly in rear of it, and the Glacière had to be taken down to clear the front and permit the construction of a counterguard covering the new bastion. Destroying it was not easy. It was blown up with gunpowder, the operation serving as an exercise for the Sappers and Miners. The charges were blown on February 19, 1828; the occasion was graced by the presence of the governor-general, Lord Dalhousie, and the demolition task was considered sufficiently important to be de-

<sup>19</sup>P.A.C., Map Division, Plan of the Citadel of Quebec . . . now under Execution . . . as surveyed and drawn by Lieut. Skene. R.E. September 24th. 1823.

<sup>20</sup>Notably P.A.C., Map Division, Progress Plan of the New Citadel under execution at Cape Diamond Quebec—1829 (February 11, 1830). This plan clearly distinguishes between the new work and the old.

scribed in the printed professional papers of the Royal Engineers.<sup>21</sup>

Mr. A. J. H. Richardson of the Public Archives of Canada has pointed out to me that one stone building still existing within the Citadel is a relic of the earliest system of fortifications protecting the land front of Quebec, built in the last decade of the seventeenth century, following Phipps's attack of 1690. A plan dated September, 1693 shows on the eastern end of the high ground of Cape Diamond a structure described as "Le grand Cavalier appellé La citadelle qui aura un Logem<sup>t</sup>. un magasin et six canons."<sup>22</sup> The use of the future tense suggests that the cavalier, designed to support the left flank of the new fortified line, was then under construction. It appears on every subsequent plan; in a French plan of 1759 it is called "Redoute du Cap au diamant,"<sup>23</sup> while a British one about a year later labels it "Citadel or Redoubt of Cape Diamond."<sup>24</sup> The inventory of 1823, already referred to,<sup>25</sup> makes it clear that this "French Cavalier" was retained as part of the new Citadel, but remarks that it has been considerably altered.<sup>26</sup> It still stands solidly in the King's Bastion, looking down the river towards the Island of Orleans as it has looked for more than two and a half centuries. It is doubtless the oldest military work existing in Quebec today.<sup>27</sup>

C. P. STACEY

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<sup>21</sup>*Papers on Subjects connected with the Duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers*, II, 2nd ed. (London, 1844), 27-9: "Account of the Demolition of the Glacière Bastion at Quebec, in 1828. By Capt. Melhuish, R.E."

<sup>22</sup>P.A.C., Map Division, Plan de la ville de Quebec capitale de la Nouvelle France. Levé au mois de Septemb. 1693 (copy from Dépôt des Fortifications des Colonies, Carton No. 6, Pièce No. 356).

<sup>23</sup>P.A.C., Map Division, Plan de la Ville de Quebec 1759.

<sup>24</sup>*Supra*, note 17.

<sup>25</sup>*Supra*, note 11.

<sup>26</sup>"Part of this Building was taken down and one Vault added. . . ." This presumably was done in the early stages of the work on the Citadel.

<sup>27</sup>It may have been on this building that Frontenac placed the copper plate with Latin inscription, mentioned by Parkman as found in 1854 (*Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV*, ed. Boston, 1897, II, 70). It should perhaps be mentioned that the 1693 enceinte replaced a system of temporary field works hastily constructed in 1690 under the threat of Phipps's attack. This line of 1690 did not enclose any part of the Cape Diamond bluff. Parkman is evidently in error in crediting the redoubt with sixteen guns.

## LETTERS OF 1844 AND 1846 FROM SCOBIE TO RYERSON

IN the Ryerson correspondence, of which the Library of Victoria University is the custodian, are twelve letters from Hugh Scobie, eleven of them written during the campaign preceding the general elections of 1844 and the twelfth in 1846. Scobie was a Scot who had read law in Edinburgh and emigrated to Canada in 1832. Six years later he had founded the *British Colonist* in Toronto as a middle-of-the-road weekly, with a policy thus defined: "Repudiating colonial servility, it will ever advocate British Connection." It was a decent paper ably edited, which avoided the violence and even scurrility of some of its rivals, and by 1844 it had attained a position of considerable influence in the Upper Province. In the difficult situation produced by the resignation of Baldwin, Scobie had espoused the cause of Metcalfe against the newly-formed, capably-led and powerfully-supported Reform Association. Naturally, then, and on Scobie's initiative, as it would appear from a phrase in the letter of August 30, the *Colonist* became the medium of the publication of Ryerson's arresting letters under the title "Sir Charles Metcalfe Defended against the Attacks of His Late Counsellors."

This connexion produced the eleven letters of the summer and autumn of 1844, which are now being published for the first time. They were used merely to furnish a background for the second chapter of the present writer's *Egerton Ryerson, His Life and Letters*, Volume II, and they support the general position there taken as to the political situation which confronted Metcalfe, a situation which in default of evidence now available has been seriously misunderstood by historians on both sides of the Atlantic. The letters reveal *inter alia* the split in the Conservative ranks between the Tories of the Compact group and the more moderate supporters of the governor, whose numbers were being steadily increased by liberals who disliked the extreme views emanating from members of the Reform Association—views which it was feared inevitably pointed to the establishment of a republic in Canada after the model of the United States. Incidentally they also exhibit the prodigious efforts of which printers were capable a century ago with the simple equipment then available. Ryerson's letters when set in pamphlet form occupy 182 pages in the first series and 63 pages in the rebuttal, with a total of about 130,000 words; yet this type had to be set up for successive issues of the paper and held for the pamphlet.

The severe pressure brought to bear on Scobie by advertisers and subscribers of Reform sympathies in an effort to ruin him failed of effect. The *Colonist* survived and, assisted by a partner, John Balfour, Scobie also published the first issue of that remarkable annual, the *Canadian Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for the Year 1848, being Leap Year, Containing Full and Authentic Commercial, Statistical, Astronomical, Departmental, Ecclesiastical, Educational, Financial, Military, Naval and General Information*. It ran to 100 pages and was sold by all booksellers at 7½d. or 5s. per dozen. By 1851 Balfour's name disappears, and Scobie himself published the annual till his death in 1853 at the age of forty-two. Thereafter the *Almanac* was published successively by Maclear and Company, Chewett and Company, and from 1866 to the present time by Copp, Clark and Company.

The letters are all dated at Toronto and addressed to Ryerson at Cobourg, where he resided from 1842 to 1844 as principal of Victoria College. In March, 1846, Ryerson was still at Cobourg, in his new position as superintendent of common schools, having just returned from his first tour of inspection of the school systems of Europe. The educational offices, however, had not yet been moved to Toronto. This letter is published in order to complete the series, but has interest in itself as indicating Scobie's views on the controversial question of the relation of the university to the denominational colleges. Evidently, though a member of the Kirk, Scobie did not share the views of his Kingston co-religionists. It is significant also that in spite of a sharp difference of opinion in this area Ryerson could suggest to Draper and secure Scobie's inclusion in his advisory Board of Education.

C. B. SISSONS

Victoria College,  
The University of Toronto.

June 1, 1844.

I sent you by the mail of yesterday, six numbers of the *British Colonist*, containing your first letters, etc. in defence of Sir Charles Metcalfe; and, I hope that, on examination, you will find that the printing is generally correct.—I send you herewith, the first eight pages of the pamphlet, & expect to hear from you to day, stating the number of copies that will be required. Your letters will receive general circulation in the newspapers.—The *Kingston Chronicle* is to copy them.—Your second number is now in the printer's hands here, & I expect a proof of it to night, so that it will be out in the *Colonist* of tuesday. I think, if it be possible to do so, it would be better to continue the publication of one

number in succession, in each number of the *Colonist* that issues, until the whole are published.—I mean not to allow a number of the *Colonist* to issue, without containing one of your articles, until the whole is finished. I think this is important, if it can be done, so as to keep the public mind fixed to the subject, and not allow it time to wander away, with the newspaper criticisms, of which there will be abundance in the *Slang* style.—It may be that, I would find it difficult, on account of the quantity of type in use, to publish an article or number in each paper, but I would use every effort to do so, on account of the great importance to the country of the argument,—if you can keep me supplied with the Copy.

I endeavoured to see Mr. Duggan<sup>1</sup> yesterday, on the subject of your letter to me, of 29th ultimo, but did not find him.—I, however, received a note from Mr. Isaac Buchanan,<sup>2</sup> expressing an anxious wish that your letters should be very widely circulated, & that a subscription should be entered into, for that purpose; and in the event of that being done, he has requested his name to be put down for five pounds. I will make a point of seeing Mr. Duggan to day, on this subject.

I shall attend to the other suggestions in your letter, and give every attention, in correcting your proofs.

The appearance of your letters has created quite a sensation here, particularly among the members of the so called "Reform Association."

June 19, 1844.

I have just received your package by Mr. Green,<sup>3</sup> & have but a few minutes to drop you a line by the Boat. The first page of your article, No. 4, just received is awaiting; I presume it is the table of contents. The part received commences page 2, "The last proposition I discussed was", etc.—You will therefore please, on receipt, to forward to me the missing page, or whatever it may be.

Your letter of 15th instant,—postmarked at Cobourg on the 15th, & altered with the pen to the 16th,—I did not receive until the 18th, after the *Colonist* of that day was published. There must have been neglect somewhere.

I am sorry to find that some errors creep into the publication of your letters, but you are well aware of the difficulty of preserving entire accuracy, in comparing proofs hastily for a newspaper. I am myself very anxious that your articles should be printed with perfect accuracy.

There is no doubt but Mr. Sullivan<sup>4</sup> is the writer of "*Legion*", in the *Examiner*.

<sup>1</sup>George Duggan, the son of an Irishman of the same name who was a King Street merchant of some notoriety, was a barrister and member of parliament for the second riding of York, where he had defeated Baldwin. He had been called to the bar in 1837 and attended Sheriff Jarvis in carrying the flag of truce up Yonge Street to Mackenzie's forces.

<sup>2</sup>Isaac Buchanan was a native of Glasgow, who had come to Toronto in 1830 at the age of twenty to represent a firm of West Indian merchants. In 1841 he and John H. Dunn had been elected as Reformers for the two Toronto seats, but he had parted company with Baldwin and Lafontaine when they had refused longer to serve under Metcalfe.

<sup>3</sup>The Reverend Anson Green, formerly president of the Wesleyan Conference, being a member of the Board, had probably been at Victoria College on college business and was the bearer of Ryerson's manuscript. As the second paragraph indicates, private enterprise in the business of correspondence was sometimes more satisfactory than the postal service.

<sup>4</sup>Robert Baldwin Sullivan, the clever but mercurial cousin of Robert Baldwin, whose brilliant pen had been anonymously enlisted by the Reformers in the attempt to confound Ryerson. *Legion, for we are many*, he signed himself, with a curious disregard of ill omen, considering the fate of the prototypes among the Gadarenes.

The object, in selecting the *Examiner*, has been, to disown, on the part of the "Association", the supposed connection with the "Globe", which the proprietor of that Journal wished to establish. The "Association" could not be kept together by the "Globe", in consequence of its abuse of the *Roman Catholics*, and the "Banner" being owned by the same party.<sup>5</sup> The choice was to sacrifice the "Globe", or lose the Roman Catholic support.

I will procure and send you the papers you want, and any thing else you may wish done here, you have only to apprise me of, and it will be attended to. Meantime, I am, in haste . . .

August 12, 1844.

I send you herewith a copy of the *London Inquirer*, containing a translation from the *Minerve*, of what they term "*clear precise facts*," and when you peruse them, I think you will see the necessity of at once referring publicly to the "*conversation*,"<sup>6</sup> which called forth Sir Charles Metcalfe's despatch of May 1843.

<sup>5</sup>The *Banner*, a Free Church weekly, was edited by Peter Brown, the father of George Brown, the founder and editor of the *Globe*. The *Banner* carried at its head the motto *Righteousness exalteth a nation*, but contrived to be pretty abusive at times, and not merely against Roman Catholics. The *Examiner* had been founded by Francis Hincks in 1838, and was now edited by James Lesslie.

<sup>6</sup>The conversation took place early in May, 1843, between Captain Higginson, Metcalfe's private secretary, and Lafontaine. It was summarized in a précis, a copy of which Higginson forwarded to Ryerson on July 25, 1844. Evidently Ryerson showed it to Scobie, since a quotation from it appeared in the *Colonist*. The full document apparently remained unpublished until 1883; it is to be found somewhat edited (as was Hodgins' wont) on pp. 332-3 of *The Story of My Life*. In assessing the value of the précis for historical purposes it should be remembered that the conversation recorded took place before the clash of wills. The full précis, as copied for Ryerson, is as follows:

"Your attempt to carry on the Government on principles of conciliation must fail. Responsible Government has been conceded, and when we lose our majority we are prepared to retire—to strengthen us we must have the entire confidence of the Governor exhibited most unequivocally, and also his patronage to be bestowed exclusively on our Political Adherents. We feel His Excellency has kept aloof from us. The opposition pronounce that his sentiments are with them. There must be some act of his, some public declaration in favor of Responsible Govt. and of confidence in the Cabinet to convince them of their error. This has been studiously avoided. Charges have been brought against members of Council in Addresses and no notice given to them. Mr. B. even mentioned by name or at least by office.

Will declare on the first day of the session that it is only as a member of Resple. Govt. that he for one would consent to act. If he supposed for a moment that Sir C. would introduce a different system, would resign. In fact the Governor ought to stand in the same position towards his Cabinet, as Her Majesty does. They can not be prepared to defend his acts in Parliament if done without their advice—instanced the case of the Collector's intended dismissal. No new comers ought to be appointed to office. Declares his disinterestedness as his party i.e. the French Canadian must carry the day. The Conservative would be just as ready to join them as those that have, has no desire for office for office sake. If the Governor does not take some step to denounce and shew his disapprobation of Orangeism, his not doing so will be construed into the reverse and the system will extend and bloodshed will follow. The other party will organize and they would be great fools if they did not. No Orangeman to be included in Commissions of the Peace—no justice at present for Catholics in U.C. A Law for the suppression of illegal societies does exist, but very difficult to discover members of them and to execute the Law. Conciliation is only an attempt to revert to the old system of Government—viz. the will of the Govr. It must fail. Lord Stanley decidedly adverse to the Lower Canadians, does not forget their expunging one of his

And there are some other things in the article which may be as well noticed, in a condensed form.

I am sorry for the delay in getting out the pamphlet; but it was unavoidable, owing to the great quantity of type in use at once, in the last number of the *Defence*, and your own Appendix. Besides the impression of the *Colonist*, we have to work off, from the same type, the *Extras* for circulation, and the several forms of the pamphlet, before getting a return of the type; and this has considerably retarded other work on hand. When I receive back the proof of your Index corrected, not a moment will be lost, in getting out the pamphlet. I sent the proof by the Boat on Saturday. Will you have an *errata*?

August 12, 1844.

In reference to your letter to me of 6th Instant, I would cheerfully have completed the Index, as you requested, if any delay in the printing of it would be likely to occur, by sending it to you; but, finding by your letter that you had arranged to return to Cobourg on Friday, I preferred that you should be allowed the opportunity of completing the Index yourself as its transmission to Cobourg on Saturday would occasion no delay in the printing, from the state of forwardness the concluding portions of the pamphlet were then in.—I shall use all diligence, to dispose of the pamphlet, when completed, in the most advantageous manner. In the meantime, I will cause the foreman in my printing office, to make a calculation of the expense of getting up the pamphlet, that it may be disposed of, at the cheapest rate. I shall send you a supply, as soon as the first lot passes through the Binders' hands.

I mentioned to you when here, that the parties who pretended at first, to set on foot a subscription, to defray the expense of a large circulation of your very able papers, in the form of *Extras* to the *British Colonist*, have allowed the matter to drop, without accomplishing any thing. When the matter was first spoken of to me, I commenced publishing 2,000 extra Copies, in order to be able to meet their views, when they should have completed their arrangements; and I have continued to print, 2,000 extra copies of each number as it appears. All these copies are still on hand. My own impression is, that their circulation now would be even more serviceable than formerly; as it would keep the facts fresh before the public, and effectually meet the mis-statements that are so industriously circulated by such papers as the *Montreal Minerve*, and afterwards copied into the Upper Canada *Radical* papers.

August 12, 1844.

I find upon examination that the subscription list to the *British Colonist* has diminished upwards of 250 names, since it has declared in favor of Sir Charles

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despatches from their journals, it was so *impudent*. I trust the home Govt will accept the proposed Civil List, they will never have so large a one offered again. In conclusion Sir C. M.'s great reputation places him in an eminently favorable position for carrying out Sir C. Bagot's policy, by which alone the Province can be satisfactorily governed, a declaration by Government to this effect would put a stop to political agitation which the opposition keep alive as long as they have the slightest hopes of office all they care for. Let them know that the game was up and all would go right, and many come round. The differences of Religion in U.C. will always prevent amalgamation. You must first make them all of the same like ourselves in L.C. French Language Clause in Union Bill must be expunged."



Metcalfe, against the late Counsellors. This is the extent of the falling off in the circulation, that I can ascertain, at present, but it may or may not be more.—I hope it is not. The new Post Office regulations are so very inconvenient in this respect, that publishers of papers have good reason to complain of them. Under the old System, when a paper was refused by a subscriber, it was returned at once by the Post Master, to the Publisher, marked refused, or a notice sent to that effect.—Under the new System, papers when refused, are sent to the Dead Letter Office, Montreal, and what is done with them there I cannot say. The decrease in the circulation of the *British Colonist* has been caused, in a great measure, by the active agency of prominent members of the "Reform Association", and others; and, indeed, some *Honorable* Gentlemen with a *Provincial Handle* to their names, did not consider it *infra dig.* to canvas actively for the same laudable object, in Town & Country. The same parties carried their inveteracy so far, as to withdraw all their Stationery and other accounts from my establishment; some of them sending me most insulting letters, thinking that by adding insult to persecution, they might succeed in regaining my support. It is evident from all this that they considered the support of the *British Colonist* would be of some value to them; while they afforded complete evidence by their proceedings, that they dreaded its opposition. I hope it may turn out, at the proper time, that that opposition has been of some use. I have been often accused of supporting the Government of Canada, *before* and *since* the *Union*, by active partizans, on account of having received Government support. What could have given rise to the accusation, I never could imagine, further than that it must have proceeded from malicious party feeling, on account of my not having joined in with either of the extreme political parties. As to the truth of the accusation, I need only say that, I did not even participate in the support of the Government, to the extent of the departmental advertisements, which after all, would not go far, in paying the expenses of a newspaper. When Hincks thought his power would never come to an end, he wished me to solicit from the Sheriff, the advertisements of that office, at the time the "Responsible Government" mandate was issued, ordering them to be removed from the *Patriot*.<sup>7</sup> I told the Hon. Gentleman that I would see him—first, before I would ask any favor at their hands, and put myself under an obligation to support them out & out; and that it was very uncertain how long they might have any favors to bestow. I think after our late conversation, I owed you some such explanation as this.—I have written it hurriedly, but I hope intelligibly; and that you will see from it that I am perfectly free to act, and to insert from your pen, articles on important subjects, when you may think proper to send them.

(I omitted to mention, that the Sheriff, of his own accord, sent me his advertisements, in preference to the *Examiner*, the Editor of which paper waited on that functionary to solicit them. I told the deputy Sheriff who called upon me about them, that I would take them from him as a matter of business, but not with any condition attached, that I was to make myself a slave to a party.)

I hope His Excellency will be able to form his Council, without further delay. Really his best friends here, and elsewhere, are crying out violently on account of

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<sup>7</sup>This organ of the high Tory party had for years been largely, perhaps mainly, sustained by government advertising. Francis Hincks, the receiver-general in the Baldwin-Lafontaine administration was an eminently practical man.

the long delay.<sup>8</sup>

I hope this will find you in Cobourg, as I think you would not proceed to Montreal, as you proposed, on account of the pamphlets not being ready to send you.

August 14, 1844.

I received your note yesterday, with the proof of the Index, and I had it immediately put to press, so as to have ready by noon to day, two dozen copies of the pamphlet, to forward to you by *Steamer*, so as to prevent further disappointment. I now send them herewith.

I sent you by the *Steamer* on Monday, a small parcel, containing two letters & a newspaper, which I hope you have received.

August 14, 1844.

I think, you must have observed, that since the resignation of the late Counsellors, the papers in Upper Canada, in the Interest of the old "*Family Compact*" have done nothing to support Sir Charles Metcalfe. The Reform-Radical papers have done all in their power to oppose His Excellency, and to support their party, but the Compact papers, instead of coming to His Excellency's assistance, looked coolly on. You might sometimes see in the *Patriot* and such like, a condemnation of something in the *Examiner*, *Globe*, or *Pilot*, but all that would be said to encourage Sir Charles, was merely that the *Conservatives* (!) would wait to see of what materials the Council would be composed. Their game has throughout been, to endeavour to force His Excellency by their callous indifference, to the position of calling back to power the "*Family Compact*" under the impression that the "Radical Council" had so much disgusted His Excellency, that he could never again call them back. This, I think, is obvious from all their conduct, and the late Orange proceedings,<sup>9</sup> in Upper Canada, confirms my impression. See how the Compact papers, from Kingston to St. Thomas, have attempted to justify those Orange proceedings. I am assured, by respectable authority, that it can be easily proved upon competent inquiry, that the arms on board the *Admiral* on the 12th, were the militia arms, entrusted to the officers in command, at the late outbreak in Upper Canada. This is a serious feature of the case.—See how silent they all are on the subject. The papers in the Orange interest, do not even allude to the questions I have put to them, when they find that evasion will not pass for fact.—Had the Conservative papers, as they are called, taken the broad liberal ground you point out in your letters, and coalesced with the moderate

<sup>8</sup>Without doubt the delay in completing the Executive Council, extending over several months, laid Metcalfe open to severe criticism. It reveals, however, his iron nerve (in a period of great physical suffering), and when the Council was finally completed, with the inclusion of that prominent Scottish Canadian, William Morris, who had long been closely identified with the struggle against the Tory party, he had advisers with whom he could appeal to the electors with some confidence. The difficulties involved and certain of the negotiations are discussed in *Egerton Ryerson, His Life and Letters*, vol. II, pp. 47ff.

<sup>9</sup>The *Globe* of July 16 had informed its readers that it was "glad to say that the twelfth passed over in this quarter without loss of life." A sanguinary conflict indeed had been anticipated between the Orangemen who had chartered the *Admiral* for an excursion to Niagara with arms on board to try conclusions, it was supposed, with the Repealers who were employed on the Welland Canal. In Toronto, however, Alderman Gurnett and Dixon were reported to have been "trampled under feet" when they tried to enforce the city council's edict against an Orange procession.

Reformers, after the Resignations, the State of the province would now be very different from what it is; and we would long ago have had a strong wholesome party, British in name and in feeling, organized, to support Sir Charles. But the members of the Compact appear to me to learn nothing from experience. They are impracticable in all their ways, and self being their ruling passion, they find, and act upon the principle, *that the existence of the Radical party is necessary to their own existence*; and they therefore prefer to see the Radicals perpetuated and become more violent still, than that the principles or the power of the "moderates" should be in the ascendant.—The Boat Bell is ringing & I have not time to read over this scroll.

August 20, 1844.

I received this morning, your favor of yesterday, by Capt. Towley, and I send you herewith, the papers you require.—I am not at present aware, that I have any thing further to communicate to you, than what was contained in my former letters. I find that those concerned in the excursion party, on the 12th July, most stoutly deny that there were *muskets* on board the Steamer Admiral on that day; but they admit that there were *guns & pistols*. You will easily see the object of this. If they admitted that there were *muskets* on Board, they are afraid of some militia officers being implicated, and I dare say, upon the whole, it would be as well, to take them on their admission of the *guns* and *pistols*, and let the other drop.

With regard to your allusion in a former letter, to the Superintendship of Education, you may remember that the remarks on that subject, in the *Colonist*, appeared, before I saw you on the subject of your defence of Sir Charles Metcalfe, and that nothing on the subject appeared in the *Colonist* since.—Indeed, had I seen you before hand, and received your explanation, that article would not have been published.—As it was, there was nothing in it, disrespectful to you, but only condemnatory of removing Mr. Murray,<sup>10</sup> without any cause, known to the public; and, even, at a future period, it would be difficult to effect a change in the situation, without incurring great public odium, unless Mr. Murray be suitably provided for.—You know well the sensitive feelings of Sectarians, on points like this, and Mr. Murray's Presbyterian and other friends, are as liable to display those feelings as others. You will, I hope, see from this, that my allusion to the post of Superintendent, at the time, was dictated by no disrespect whatever to you, but only as a measure of protection to Mr. Murray, for which his friends would look, under the circumstances, at my hands.

I feel obliged by your proposal to use the contents of my former letters, to my advantage, in Montreal.—I could have had no idea, from what took place in former political squabbles in Canada, of the *venom* of combined political agitators, and the extent to which they can carry their persecution. They aim only at their own elevation, right or wrong, and they will stoop to every means, however low, to ruin an honest opponent, as their only means of success.—I hope, in the present instance, they will find themselves disappointed.

All parties here expect that the *Canada Gazette* by this day's mail will contain the new Executive. The anxiety on the subject is very great; and I assure you,

<sup>10</sup>The Reverend Robert Murray, whom Ryerson was to succeed as superintendent of education in Upper Canada. It must be admitted that he had rather slight qualifications either for that office or for the professorship of mathematics in the University of Toronto, to which his Scottish and political friends had him transferred.

the discontent has spread widely among the Governor General's friends, in consequence of the long delay. I hope when the appointments appear, an end will be put to all grumbling for the present, and that the number of His Excellency's friends will be greatly increased.—I shall be glad to hear from you, on your return.

I sent you the *Examiner* you wanted, & also a *Globe*.

August 30, 1844.

I have not time to write you by this Boat; but I will endeavor to write by the Steamer tomorrow.—I send you a few copies of this day's paper, containing your first No. in answer to "*Legion*". I may mention that the "*Tracts for the people*" are not written by Mr. Sullivan, but by a young law Student, a Mr. Macara,<sup>11</sup> who came out from Edinburgh a few years ago, and who has been already anonymously before the public of Canada, he being the writer of the *History of King's College*, in the *Globe*, and now published in pamphlet form.—I should like, if you could do so conveniently, that you would send me a portion of your second number, in answer to "*Legion*", by the *Sovereign* or *Princess* and the remainder by the *City*, the following day. I find it inconvenient for the Printer, to receive the whole of one number, on the day previous to publication, as the paper is always put to press, as early as possible on Monday and Thursday Evenings, to be prepared for the mails on the following days.—

I have not seen any attempt at Reply to, or any more notice taken in any of the Papers, of the article in answer to Tract No. 1 for the People; nor have I observed any Tract No. 2, as yet issued. Indeed, it is most likely that there will be no more published of them,—for what can they say?—I do not envy Mr. Sullivan's position today!—

September 2, 1844.

I received your second number yesterday, and have put it into the Printer's hands this morning, for tomorrow's publication. I will attend to the request in your private note.—Your parcels of papers have always been sent away on the days of publication, so that you ought always to have received them, on the same evening. I had a note from Capt. Higginson, ordering 400 copies of your pamphlet, which I have just sent to him. He says in his note, "I have had the pleasure of seeing Mr. R. who will communicate with you, respecting the publication of his letters, in this and the form in which they first appeared, in order that you may not be exposed to any loss by the valuable aid that you have afforded to the cause of British Constitutional Government".

In writing to Capt. Higginson this morning, intimating the forwarding of the pamphlets, I merely said, "With respect to the other part of your letter, I have heard from Mr. Ryerson on the subject, and will write him in reply without delay".

Indeed, I fully intended to have written to you on Saturday, but my time was altogether taken up with business that could not be delayed, and with parties who came a distance from the country, to whom I had to shew some attention; and this forenoon, I have been similarly engaged.—I have just taken a few minutes

<sup>11</sup>John Macara, also from Edinburgh, and now a resident of Canada for something like a year, who on this acquaintance while employed by the *Globe* ventured to publish a treatise on *The Origin, History and Management of the University of King's College*.

to drop you these hurried lines, in consequence of Mr. Junkin<sup>12</sup> of the *Guardian* Office having called, with the view of ascertaining, if possible, by what means copies of an Extra of the *British Colonist*, containing your ninth number, and your Appendix had been sent to the subscribers to the *Guardian*.—I of course gave him no information on the subject, and cautioned our young men in the office, to be silent if questioned. I also went at once to the post office, to put them on their guard there, in case of any inquiries being made.—I was sorry to learn from Mr. Junkin, who has just returned from the Niagara District, that the *Guardian* subscribers are dissatisfied, on account of the Extras having been sent to them,—that several angry letters have been received at the *Guardian* Office respecting them, and some papers returned by subscribers. All this, Mr. Junkin informed me, has given the Editor and Mr. Green, great annoyance, and that the former would, most likely, have a paragraph in the next *Guardian* respecting it.—Mr. Junkin mentioned various conjectures, as to the manner in which the addresses of the individuals might have been obtained, but he was correct in none of them.—I thought it best, at once, to apprise you of this circumstance.—I have no idea that the dissatisfaction will continue; and if the parties to whom the papers were addressed, will only take the trouble to read them attentively, a great deal more good will be done than will compensate ten times over the little uneasiness the circulation of them may at present give rise to among your friends in the *Guardian* Office.

There is a very great improvement in the *Christian Guardian*, since it has been placed under Mr. Playter's charge. The article copied by me, and which you allude to in your note, has, I understand, shaken the confidence of some leaders of the "*League*", who cannot conceal from themselves the affect it must produce among the Methodist body.—I have not the pleasure of Mr. Playter's acquaintance but I see clearly from the cautious, prudent, judicious course he is pursuing, that he will exert a powerful influence in the good cause, when the time arrives that it will be most required, at the General Election.<sup>13</sup>

September 10, 1844.

I ought to have written you, before now, on the subject of your letter of 27th August, but the calls upon my time since then, have been unusually numerous, and I could not manage to sit down composedly (owing to the many interruptions, to which I have been exposed) to commit my answer to paper; and I now feel much at a loss, in what manner it ought to be done.—I shall, however, with every confidence, write you freely and unreservedly, as you have been pleased to request.—I may mention at the outset, that the publication of your letters in defence of Sir Charles Metcalfe, has been of immense service. The opponents of the Governor are too well aware of this; and when they cannot combat with them fairly, they dread the circulation of them among the people, altho' they themselves use the utmost exertions, to spread abroad in all directions, their tracts and

<sup>12</sup>Samuel S. Junkin was a young friend of Ryerson's who had assisted in making the *Christian Guardian* the excellent paper it was in Ryerson's day as editor by his reporting of the proceedings of the Legislature. In the present instance he was incensed, as was the Reverend George F. Playter, the editor, by the fact that in some subterranean manner the mailing list of the *Guardian* had been secured and an extra of the *Colonist* containing Ryerson's final letter sent to all *Guardian* subscribers.

<sup>13</sup>Scobie was mistaken in his prediction. While Playter was careful to observe the political neutrality enjoined on him by Conference, he could not quite conceal his partiality to the Reform cause (see *Egerton Ryerson, His Life and Letters*, vol. II, p. 70).

falsehoods. But, altho' this is the case, those who profess to be friendly to Sir Charles Metcalfe, do not appear to be at all disposed, to incur any trouble or expense, in disseminating proper information among the people, to counteract the extraordinary exertions of the *League*. There is too much selfishness, and too much of ultra partyism, by which the people of Canada are unfortunately guided, to admit of their doing so disinterested an act, as to circulate freely, your valuable papers, altho' they all admit in conversation their unanswerable arguments, and the great good that has been done by them. Individuals may use them to further some personal or selfish object; but, when it is *merely the public welfare* that is proposed to be advanced by them, they will only exert themselves, when they conceive that their own personal, selfish or party objects can be gained, under the cloak of their being apparently acting with the view to serve the public. In this way the Leaguers have every advantage and they are not slothful in the use they make of it. I am sorry to see this, and from what I witness every day going on around me, I do not expect that your pamphlet will be *purchased* for general distribution. I would therefore suggest, that a certain number of them should be sent to some trustworthy person in each District, for *gratuitous* distribution; and, moreover, that the *Colonist Extra* containing your letters separately, should be similarly distributed, at proper intervals.—The liberality of Sir Charles Metcalfe is proverbial, and no other way suggests itself to me, by which His Excellency could better serve his Government and the country, than by employing a portion of the means he so freely gives away,<sup>14</sup> in disseminating these papers. And, it could not fail to have come within your observation, the ingratitude displayed by some of the recipients of His Excellency's bounty, as promulgated in the Radical papers,—that the object of the Governor in performing acts of private munificence, was, to bribe the country to sustain him, in governing arbitrarily and despotically, and in depriving the people of their constitutional privileges and liberties.

I can conceive no position so humiliating and degrading, so destitute of every thing that constitutes uprightness and independence, as that of the Editor of a public Journal, being tied down to and trammelled by faction or party,—particularly in a Colony like this, where the pursuits of party are so very selfish, and so much opposed to what is really necessary for the public welfare: and entertaining these sentiments, I need not be so very much surprised to find, that the combined efforts of party should be directed to crush those who profess the independence to resist their encroachments.—I have experienced this in my own case.—And when I speak of party, I do not mean to distinguish between the existing extremes in Canada, for they are alike guilty. The "*Family Compact*" furnished abundant evidence of this, towards the close of the administration of Sir George Arthur; and when about to leave the Province, they would have allowed him to depart like a criminal, without shewing him even ordinary respect, altho' they enjoyed the Government Patronage during his administration, to the utmost extent that it was in Sir George's power to bestow it upon them. Their determination of marked insult, towards the Queen's Representative having been made known to me, by one of His Excellency's friends, and also that some public demonstration would be acceptable to Sir George Arthur, I at once took up the matter, and set the proper wheels in motion, preliminary to getting up a public

<sup>14</sup>Metcalfe had returned from his long service in India a very wealthy man, and mendicant individuals and institutions in Canada were not slow to take advantage of the fact, as the correspondence in the Public Archives of Canada amply attests.



dinner to His Excellency by the Citizens of Toronto, while I took care not to appear publicly as a prominent actor in the matter, because I did not conceive my position here sufficiently important to set myself prominently forward. I boldly announced the intended compliment to Sir George in the *Colonist*, and it was at once responded to by the most respected of the Citizens, who cheerfully rallied round the object, without enquiring with whom the matter originated.—It was gall & wormwood to the Radicals and the family Compact. Isaac Buchanan was then a candidate for the City and he was threatened by the Rads with the withdrawal of their support, if he would attend the dinner, and more particularly if he would preside on the occasion. Mr. Buchanan, however, was not the man to submit to be threatened or browbeaten. He asserted his independence, and dared them to interfere with him. He presided at the Dinner in defiance of them; and so much was the demonstration thought of, that when the published account of it reached London, it created quite a sensation in the Clubs, and the opinion formed there at the impulse of the moment was, that Sir George Arthur would be honored on his return by a Baronetage. You may perhaps say, What has this to do with the immediate cause of my present letter. It is this, that it is one instance out of many, with which if inclined, I might trouble you, in which I have stepped forward in the *Colonist*, in defiance of party intrigue, and in support of public or individual worth, and for which I have suffered in proportion to the ability and malignity of those whom I may have opposed and offended. My position, or rather the *Colonist's* position, in support of Sir Charles Metcalfe, has given the Combined Radical faction, aided by many from whom better things might have been expected, a pretext to do me every injury in their power.—It shews, I think, the necessity that exists for having an independent press, to combat, when necessary, with the ultra party press, and that the wholesome press ought to be protected and sustained, against popular persecution by every legitimate means. This is the first time that I have written or complained on this subject; and were it not that I have been placed in temporary difficulty, as I formerly hinted, I would not even now acknowledge it. But, in acknowledging it, I have at least this excuse, that this is the first & only time, that an acknowledgment has been made to me, for having freely opened the Columns of the *Colonist*, for the publication of what was deemed necessary, for the protection of the Government against the mischievous attacks made upon it by faction; it is the first time that I have been asked, whether or not, the front that I have opposed to faction, may have been attended with pecuniary loss to myself; altho' it is *not* the first time that I have been asked to speak out in defence of Government when wantonly assailed for particular acts, and when they had no Journal to resort to, that would plead in their defence, or one that would carry sufficient weight with it, in the face of the country. Of this, Mr. Sullivan, by a reference to former times in Toronto could afford some proof, notwithstanding his extraordinary position at present.—But, with regard to him, I consider him to a certain extent an object of pity. He did not condescend, at the time I refer to, to notice an application that had been made to him, to countenance the *Colonist* by extending to it a proportion of the patronage of his department, (*the Crown Lands Office*) but when he chose to act so contemptible a part, he little suspected that, a short time afterwards, he would be driven to seek a medium of defence, against outrageous personal attacks, through the columns of that very Journal. But, so it was, and I freely granted it to him. This was during Sir George Arthur's administration. The members of the Government were quite sensible of the service I had then rendered them, and during a



private conversation one day with one of them, he gave me some hint of it, and, as I thought from his manner of expression, he meant to do away with the obligation by alluding to government patronage as an offset. I told him plainly and unreservedly that during the whole period of my connection with the press of Canada, I did not so much as receive a single advertisement from any department connected with the Provincial Government, that whatever the Governmt. may occasionally have been indebted to me, I was certainly not in any degree indebted to them.—He affected surprise at this, and referring to the Crown Lands asked if I were not acquainted with Mr. Sullivan, and why I did not receive the advertisements of that department?—to which I replied, that probably Mr. S. would be better able to explain that himself.—But, the worst of the business was, that whenever the *Colonist* spoke independently in defence of the government or of any particular acts of those in authority, in opposition either to the Radical or Family Compact press, I was at once accused by the former of being *bribed*, or in the pay of the government;—the impression went abroad and was credited by some and it of course to a certain extent operated injuriously to my pecuniary interests. I had to incur all the odium of being in receipt of the government Bounty, while I was in the enjoyment of none whatever of it; I had to endure all the disappointments attendant upon a good and prosperous business, the resources arising therefrom, being at times and under the circumstances alluded to, withheld by parties on whom I conceived I might at any time depend, but who, under the belief that the charges of *bribery* brought against me by the Radical press were correct, conceived that the withholding of their dues would not be felt by me; I had to shift the best way I could, to provide the means to meet my necessary weekly advances, which with me are large, as I keep always three presses at work:—In short, I had every temptation and inducement before me, to become an extreme party man, but, acting upon the conviction that by so doing, I would betray the best interests of the Province, as an appendage of the British Crown, I was determined to resist, even if I should myself be ruined in the attempt. I have held out until now, but the combination of the "Reform Association", and their well disciplined force employed against my prosperity is the greatest trial that my fortitude has ever been subjected to. I hope yet to be enabled to outlive them.—But, in every position that I have been placed here, I do say with a clear conscience, that I never attempted to defend a position of the Government, or lend the columns of the *Colonist* for that purpose, that I did not at the time believe to be correct.—Viewing the circumstances that I have partially & imperfectly related in this hurried letter, I can easily account for the easy manner in which the Browns of the *Banner & Globe*, have gone over to the Radical camp. They had not firmness to resist temptation; and in the hope of reaping a golden harvest, they forsook the interests of the country for the sake of gain.—They may be yet disappointed, but, in the meantime, and on the eve of a new Election, their efforts must be firmly met.—I might say a great deal more than I have said, but I think I have stated sufficient to give you a proper understanding of my position; and I may add that, I have never given a hint of it, to any other person; nor is there any one that I know, to whom I would have so freely communicated these things, except yourself, and I do so to you, well knowing that they will never be made use of to my disadvantage. The mere mentioning of them to others might be attended with serious consequences to me.

It would be impossible for me to state at present, what amount of damage I may sustain, through the exertions of the *Leaguers*; but the immediate incon-

venience that I am exposed to, at present, is exceedingly embarrassing, and diverts my attention from public matters to an extent that I can scarcely explain, as it requires every exertion that I can make, to recruit my pecuniary concerns; and this you will not so much wonder at, when I mention that,—in addition to the withdrawal of support from the *Colonist*, to an extent of about 300 subscribers, besides the cessation of the usual custom bestowed by many of the "*Leaguers*" upon the general business in which I had embarked,—I have been for months since the resignation of the late counsellors, and the declaration by the *Colonist* of support of Sir C. Metcalfe, that I would not venture to demand payment of many accounts, due to me, through fear that, during the excitement which prevailed, the demand of payment would form an excuse for still further injury being done me, under existing circumstances.—I adopted this method of delay, when I found that the attempt to collect was attended with serious consequences in some cases in which it had been tried.

I expected that I would have been able to borrow money for a time, on the security of some landed property, in which case my present difficulties would only have been known to myself; but in this, I have not been able to succeed.

The present liabilities, from which I stand in need of *immediate* relief, exceed £500; and even the temporary use of that amount, to be repaid by me, would have been of the greatest benefit, had I been able to borrow as I expected; for I would in the meantime have the opportunity of collecting accounts during the Harvest and Winter, to meet my present engagements, as well as those that fall due during the remaining months of the year, which are considerable.

I have thus stated to you fully, and at much greater length than I fear you could have wished, in answer to your letter, the circumstances in which I find myself placed, and I leave it entirely to your discretion, to use the information, in the way you may judge most desirable for me.

I ought to feel grateful to His Excellency for having proposed to confer upon me some situation suitable, that may be in his gift. I candidly confess that I would be glad to be relieved from the cares of a newspaper; for when the *Editorial* duties, and the *pecuniary* concerns of an Establishment have to be looked after by the same person, it is a miserably anxious business.—One thing, however, ought to be kept in view, that Toronto must not, under any circumstances, be left without some independent *political* Journal entirely free from party trammels. I have seen enough here to know, that whatever Government may be in power, such a *political paper* is indispensably necessary in this quarter.—I do not know, at present, of any vacant office, that would suit my views; but there are vacancies frequently occurring, and some may soon cast up.—I would look to something yielding an Income of from £300, to £500 a year, with duties attached to it, sufficient to afford me constant employment; for I have always been accustomed to business habits, having been educated in Edinburgh to the profession of the Law; but on my coming to this country, I found that by Provincial Statute, I was deprived of every advantage that my former course of study ought to have afforded me; and I soon, thereafter, at the earnest solicitation of friends, betook myself to my present precarious occupation.

I write this to send by the "*Admiral*", and the time of her departure for Cobourg is close at hand. I will therefore close by saying that I will send you a line by the Boat tomorrow.

September 11, 1844.

I wrote you last night by the Steamer *Admiral*, and had barely finished my letter to put on board the Boat when she was leaving, without affording me time to read over what I had written. I hope, however, that the letter will reach you safely this morning. I made no mention in it, of the expense of publishing your letters, in various forms, as required by Mr. Higginson, because I had not a statement of it by me, on account of my Book-keeper being absent for the last fortnight. But, I suppose, the omission will not be of much consequence at present. I received your two letters yesterday, and I find the correction you point out was made when the proof was compared, which is so far well. I considered it very soft on the part of the Editor of the *Guardian* to have said so much about the *Colonists Extra*. I think it is my turn now to say something on the subject,—and had I room in last paper, I would have done so. The associationists are quite horrified at the very idea of any thing being circulated, that is opposed to them; but they send their own tracts and trash into every corner of the country, without shame; they even leave them in some places at the country School Houses, for the children to bring home to their parents, and they are hawked about the streets here for any thing or nothing. Still they have the impudence to question the right of others to circulate wholesome truth.—I will of course give place to your reply to the *Examiner*. Sullivan must, I think, become quite desparate. I have not had time to read much of his "*Legion*." I hope that at the meeting in Cobourg, you will bring the officials in Toronto to a sense of propriety & duty.—I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you before you leave for Europe. It has been stated in some paper, that you are about to leave, and the report circulated here is, that you are to set out on some government business, from Sir C. Metcalfe. I will contradict the report in the next *Colonist*, and say that it consists with my knowledge that you go home on important business, connected with Victoria College. I expect some manuscript from you today for the Printer. As usual I am hurried.—The Steamboat Bell is ringing.

September 27, 1844.

I have not leisure to write you to day, as I could desire, but I must endeavor not to let the Boat leave, without sending you a few lines.

I have not printed any Extra copies of your Reply to Legion, but I have today put the whole of them into the printers' hands, to print off a large number of copies for immediate distribution. I would circulate them freely, in every district of Upper Canada & for that purpose, would send parcels of them to each Editor that I can trust, out of Toronto, and to such other persons as may be depended upon to make a good use of them. The easiest form for a large circulation is, I think, in the shape of Extras. A few might be printed, when the types are up, in pamphlet form to preserve, along with your first series of letters in defence of Sir Charles Metcalfe, but my impression is that the greatest good is to be done by circulating the Extras freely in all directions.—I should say that to accommodate all parts, 10,000 copies would be required. I form this opinion in some measure from the number used to disseminate Mr. Isaac Buchanan's letters,—& I am persuaded that there were at least 20,000 of them circulated in the form of Extras in Upper Canada, independent of the ordinary circulation of the various newspapers in which they were published.<sup>15</sup>—I shall be glad to have a line from you,

<sup>15</sup>If these numbers seem large, it must be remembered that the people of Canada a century ago took their politics seriously.

to say whether you approve of this suggestion. It is now or never. The opponents of Sir Charles are very active, and neither means nor exertions, must be spared by his friends, to meet his opponents. The work to ensure success must be done effectually.—It is too late for me now to look to Simcoe.<sup>16</sup> The time is too short; and I am really so completely tied down here, with one thing or other, that I could not at this moment get relieved to attend to a canvas of the County.—In this hasty note, I can only say, that I described the situation which I am at present placed in my letter to you of the 10th instant; and for the time, I am merely indebted to the indulgence of friends, for the engagements which under present circumstances I have been unable to meet. These circumstances I have made known to you in the letter to which I refer.

I propose to notice your own & Mr. Murray's appointments on tuesday. If there be any particular way in which you would wish them to be referred to, you will oblige me by letting me know, by the return of the Boat.

October 1, 1844.

You will see by the *Colonist* of to day, how impossible it has been to insert in it, your *tenth* number, along with the *ninth*. I found too, on speaking to my foreman, that he could not conveniently have put up your ninth number, in wide columns, but it occupies a conspicuous part of the paper. I am glad to find that you approve of the *tone* of the Editorial matter in last friday's paper. I hope the *leader* in the paper of to day will be alike acceptable. I am sincerely anxious to lend all the humble aid in my power to carry Sir Charles Metcalfe honorably and successfully through his present difficulties.—A few others and myself have had a sad try of it, for the last week, attending committee meetings preparatory to the Toronto Election. The old Compact party are as rabid and wily as ever; and they took advantage of every artifice to overturn the nomination of Mr. Geo. P. Ridout, but we resisted them to the last, and he is now fairly in the field.—Mr. Ridout is *not* an "Orangeman", and does not maintain the "principle", as they call it, so "fully as they would wish"; and that, with the desire to put in a thorough "Family Compact" man, has been the main cause of the opposition shown to him. I hope they do not intend to have recourse to their clubs again, to "*maintain the principle thoroughly*".

The great point gained, in my estimation, by putting Mr. Ridout forward is, that it shews, to some degree at least, a reconciliation between the Constitutional Electors, since the last general election, and, I hope, will, in that way, be of great benefit, in leading public opinion in the country. At the last general Election, Mr. Sherwood was in opposition to the Government of Lord Sydenham, & he is now in support of the government of Sir Charles Metcalfe. At the last general Election Mr. Ridout seconded the nomination at the Hustings, of Mr. Dunn, the government Candidate, & at present, Mr. Ridout is himself the Government Candidate, & Mr. Dunn that of the opposition, or "League". I would have considered the nomination of a "Compact man", as the colleague of Sherwood, in many respects worse at this moment, than even the return of Mr. Dunn. I can see that the leaders of the "Compact" feel that, they have not had all their own

<sup>16</sup>It had been suggested that Scobie should stand as a government candidate in the County of Simcoe.

way in the city this time;<sup>17</sup> but on the other hand, I and others feel, that it is only by humbling the "Compact", and reducing them to their proper level in the community, that the country can have peace. The "Extreme Radicals", at present at least, are quite hopeless for good; & Mr. Baldwin & those who co-operate with him, have much to answer for, in having split up the combined liberal strength that so nobly carried Lord Sydenham through in Upper Canada formerly. I hope Mr. Baldwin & his party may be signally defeated, & made to feel that they have done wrong, & that the people are aware of it.—I feel myself that, in the present election contest, I am in a very great measure acting with strangers, who have no respect for the principles I have always advocated, & am still contending to see firmly established. I am, nevertheless, sanguine of success.

I hear that Mr. Blake has *resigned* his *professorship*, and is coming out on the "League" Interest, to oppose Mr. Duggan, in the Second Riding of York.—I have no idea what success he may meet with.<sup>18</sup>—I should have been pleased to see Mr. Blake in Parliament, *under different circumstances*, but, in his present position, his return for any constituency would be on the wrong side. He is at present too inveterate against Mr. Draper, & would go any length to defeat him, and any government with which he may be connected.

I am sending out your pamphlets in *Extras*, & the Printers are going on with the others.—Your *tenth* number will appear in the *Colonist* of Friday.—I see that the "League" is very active, & its members will leave not a stone unturned, to gain their object. We must be active too, & disseminate proper information among the people, as far as in our power.—I hope to hear from you, to day.

I have not been able to do any thing respecting the Victoria College business,<sup>19</sup> in this number. I have the "*Star*" by me, for use.

October 18, 1844.

I have sent out, in all directions, the Extra *Colonists*, containing your letters in answer to Legion, & I hope they will have the desired effect.—You will see by the *Colonist* of today, the way in which the difficulties here have been arranged by the retirement of Mr. Ridout. He is a highly honorable man, & in this case, has been abominably used by Sherwood & his friends. It is in every respect disgraceful to them, and I hope the Governor General will see the thing in its true light,—the revival of the family Compact, as of old, & the support of that faction in their domineering ascendancy, by means of Orange Bullies. This is no fancy, but real fact,—for I have been a good deal with them from the beginning to the close of the Election, and saw from the outset, what the party was about,

<sup>17</sup>Here again Scobie was too sanguine. The "Compact party" in Toronto insisted on nominating William H. Boulton, and it appeared for a time that the electors would go to the polls with three government candidates contesting two seats—Henry Sherwood (the mayor), Ridout, and Boulton, and only one Reform candidate, John Henry Dunn. At the last moment Ridout was squeezed out. When the polls closed, Dunn, who was a brother-in-law of Lord Glenelg and who had been receiver general for six years, secured only 341 votes to 642 and 622 for his two Tory opponents. The elaborate campaign of the Reform Association, well supported by talent and funds, had failed of effect in the place of its origin. Dunn returned to England shortly. His patriotism may have appeared wanting in ardour in 1844, but his son won the Victoria Cross at Balaclava.

<sup>18</sup>He was defeated by Duggan.

<sup>19</sup>This refers to the flag incident—a "scrap" of political origin between two groups of students, and a clash between "town" and "gown," with almost fatal consequence. The Reform press played it up as reflecting on Ryerson. Whatever else it accomplished, it clouded his last days as principal of Victoria College. Vol. II (op. cit. pp. 73-75).

& what they were determined, by all means or by *any* means, to bring the thing to. I told so to Mr. Ridout, at a very early stage of the proceedings, but he relied so much in the *honor* of some of our Gentlemen Politicians that he could entertain no suspicions respecting the uprightness of their conduct.—His eyes have since been opened.

I have not heard from the polling places this forenoon,—but I take it for granted that Mr. Dunn has no chance whatever.—It is a great pity that Mr. Dunn, who has fought so long against the old Compact, should have committed so great a mistake, as to place himself by his simplicity of conduct, in the humiliating position, in which he is now placed, by his connection with Baldwin & Co., & his defeat in Toronto, & his ruin, to all appearance, as a politician. But, withal, Mr. Dunn is a very weak man, & too much led by those who are present *using* him. It is hard to form an opinion as to the result of the general Elections. There is too much personal ambition, on the part of many, to go to Parliament, and between that and the great prevalence of political scoundrelism, I am afraid that Sir Charles Metcalfe will be but a very secondary consideration with most of them. Even if he gain a majority in the House, it will be but a portion of a den of thieves, who will do any thing if they find a prospect of their profiting personally by it.—Poor Sir Charles will have a hard task to deal with & to direct them.

I ought to have written to you yesterday, but was prevented by other engagements, previous to the publication of the *Colonist*.—I hope this parcel will yet find you in Cobourg, & that I will have the pleasure of hearing from you before leaving, & also from Montreal. I have heard nothing from Capt. Higginson.—I merely say so, as you seemed to think when here, that I would hear from him soon. I think it would be well, if you made him aware when in Montreal, that 10,000 copies of your letters to Legion, have been sent to the country, in all directions, before the Elections. I sent Capt. Higginson a few copies, by mail, that he might see what was doing.—I have no doubt myself, but they have done great good, and will yet do a great deal more; for the people who have now got them into their hands, will read them, after the excitement of the Elections is over, & ponder well over their contents. I really & truly anticipate in this way much good from them & that the effect will not be temporary, but lasting.—In the event of Sir Charles Metcalfe not getting a good Parliament at present, His Excellency need not be afraid of going back to the different Constituencies again, in a very short time, should that be necessary. The tone of the Country will soon become more healthy, & it was nothing but the want of proper information that made the tone of public opinion so bad, for the last few years, & particularly for the last year.

I have just seen a gentleman from the Polls.—Mr. Dunn's voters who did not poll yesterday are afraid now to come forward; they are afraid of exposing themselves, by having their names on the Poll Books, in the minority.—What despicable cowardice!—It is just like many other things in public life; first knock a man down, & then kick him when he cannot help himself.

I must close for the Boat & wishing you all success in your mission, & a safe & prosperous journey.

*March 3, 1846.*

I have to beg your excuse for my apparent neglect, in delaying so long, an answer to your esteemed letter. I purposed writing you from day to day, but something or other always interfered to prevent my gratifying my wish. I was

much disappointed at not having had the pleasure of meeting you when in Toronto. Indeed, upon one of the days you were here, I had an engagement with Mr. Duggan, M.P. to meet you at Luncheon at his house, but it so happened that both he and I were prevented by business engagements, from attending at the hour.

Your communication, on the subject of the University of King's College, I have published, without hesitation. I am no party man, no bigoted politician. I am not, in any case, afraid of publishing communications on important subjects, which expound the views of others, altho' at variance with my own. In publishing these, I do no more than justice to my reflecting readers, who, by having opposite views placed before them, are put in possession of the means of forming a correct and unbiassed judgment. I am therefore at all times glad to receive your Communications. I am sorry that we are at variance on the College question; but, I cannot for the life of me see what religion has to do with the department of the University devoted to Arts & Sciences. There, let every sect meet for instruction, on equal terms, without being even asked to what denomination they belong; & for the moral and religious instruction of the youth of the Country, there is sufficient zeal and energy in the numerous Christian Sects to prosecute their labours for the benefit of the youth of their respective denominations, by the means created within themselves for the purpose. I object to the University endowment being divided, because from the best information I can procure, it is already small enough, for the proper support & advancement of one great Provincial Institution. But, while I object to the division, I would not object to the government and Parliament bestowing aid from the public funds on worthy Educational Corporations or Seminaries, the managers of which could shew that they have a legitimate claim for such aid.

I very much approve of your suggestion, to introduce an Educational column into the *British Colonist*, & will [be] glad to receive occasional communications from you, for that Department, as may suit your convenience. I wish to make the paper as generally useful & instructive as possible, and by that means, to sustain, as far as possible, the reputation which it now enjoys.

I shall at all times be most happy to hear from you, and again begging your indulgence for having delayed so long to answer your letter.



## REVIEW ARTICLE

### SOME RECENT BOOKS ON THE GROWTH OF THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

THE recent publication of Professor Laski's *The American Democracy* suggested a general theme and title for this article reviewing a number of books on the history of the United States.<sup>1</sup> Professor Laski's book is advertised as a successor to the well-known works by de Tocqueville and Bryce and indeed the author attempts, as those writers did, to sum up the progress made in the achievement of a democratic form of society in the United States. These three periodic surveys have appeared at intervals of approximately fifty years from the time of the foundation of the republic. They are all interpretative essays by brilliant foreigners on the state of democracy at a specific time in the United States and on the historical processes by which that democracy evolved. The earlier works proved that an onlooker was able to discern and express more clearly than Americans themselves the American contribution to the democratic way of life. Before an attempt is made to measure how far Professor Laski's book also succeeds in its avowed aim of providing a necessary re-interpretation of American democracy, it would be as well to survey the important problems in the growth of the American democracy. Many of these can be conveniently dealt with in connexion with a number of books which are contemporary with Professor Laski's work.

It is interesting to note that, although a very weighty statement has recently been made concerning the inadequate attention given in American college curricula to early American history,<sup>2</sup> a considerable number of important new books deal with the period down to the end of the Revolution. Even if most American colleges give all too little attention to this period, scholars are apparently still very interested in it. Two recent books cover the whole story of the foundation and development of the American colonies. In the *Atlantic Frontier*, Professor L. B. Wright of the Huntington Library places great emphasis on the European origins of American civilization and explains the effect of the transplantation of European institutions and ideas to North America. The period covered in the volume is from 1607 to 1763; but it is noticeable that Professor Wright has given considerable attention to the sixteenth-century background of the English colonists; that he has concentrated on the seventeenth century as the period of foundation and consolidation; and that there is only one chapter on the eighteenth century, mostly concerned with the intellectual growth of the colonies. Professor Wright has incorporated the work of recent scholarship in this field and has produced a harmonious compilation of the apparently opposing theories which have stressed the importance of European origins as against American influences and *vice versa*. The book's neglect of the eighteenth century makes it unlikely to meet the requirements of those who want a single volume to cover the whole of the colonial period. And there are some evidences of hasty composition: for instance, there are two references to the Weymouth expedition (on pages 54 and 101) which are on the surface contradictory. Nevertheless, *The Atlantic Frontier* is a sound piece of scholarship, is

<sup>1</sup>This review article is not a survey of the books on American history which have appeared during the past year. It covers only such books as have been made available for review in the *CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*.

<sup>2</sup>Carl Bridenbough, "The Neglected First-Half of American History" (*American Historical Review*, Apr., 1948, 506-17).

written in an interesting style, and is a book which no student of colonial history can afford to miss.

*The First Frontier* by R. V. Coleman covers much the same ground and the same period. Written for tired business men who, according to the author, find the works of professional historians dull, it aims at putting colour into history. Hence it chooses dramatic incidents and is able to tell the reader about such things as the soreness of the "behinds" of the royalists who hunted the regicides in New England. Mr. Coleman is a publisher who knows what will sell; but he is at the same time a trained historian and he had the advantage of extremely efficient research and editorial help. The book is thus, unlike most "popular" works, fully documented and based on original material. It is usually sound, although an occasional error has crept in. For instance the fishing clause in the Council for New England's charter was not "voided" by parliament in 1621 (as is suggested on page 151). This book, dealing with the ever-interesting story of the establishment of the first communities in the area which later became the American democracy, adds little to the understanding of the period but will do much to attract popular attention to early American history.

At one time it was customary for those who sought the origins of American democracy in the colonial period of American history to place inordinate emphasis on the contributions of the Puritans and, an even greater distortion, of the Pilgrims. Although there has long been in some quarters a rush to the other extreme, there has now risen a new school of filio-pietists to defend the Puritan name. With a few notable exceptions, New Englanders have written their history with a bias one way or the other. In any case, the whole controversy has tended to perpetuate a disproportionate interest in New England's contributions to American growth and American ideas. Professor Wertenbaker's *Puritan Oligarchy* is not as unsympathetic to the leaders of Massachusetts as its title might suggest. Being an outsider (his chief work has, of course, been on the Southern and Middle colonies), he has produced a study of colonial Massachusetts which skilfully avoids the bias which has plagued the work of so many New England historians. He steers a careful course between the extremes represented today by J. T. Adams and S. E. Morison. He states the faults of the authoritarian system in Massachusetts without rancour; and he acknowledges the contributions which Massachusetts made in the preservation of scholarship in America without attempting to prove that such contributions were humanism in disguise.

This is the third volume of Professor Wertenbaker's series on the "Founding of American Civilization"; he selected Massachusetts for study because it is the best example of a "bible state," that is a colony formed primarily for religious reasons. The author writes strongly against economic determinism which has tended in recent years to suggest that land-hunger was the most important influence on the majority of the settlers in the Bay colony. He believes that not only was religion the chief cause of emigration to Massachusetts but also of the creation of the nucleated village which played so important a part in the fashioning of New England's history and development. The author admits that economic factors played a more important part in the eventual downfall of the experiment than they did in the initiation. The "first grave mistake" was due to the land-hunger of the early settlers. To satisfy it, the townships were given larger grants than they could cultivate from the village, and as a result outlying farms and villages grew up away from the control of the minister. Similarly the growth of wealth, watched with distrust by the ministers, led to contacts with the outside world which brought

profane sailors to Boston and sent the men of Massachusetts into the cess-pools of European seaports. Even the ministers were affected. They preferred fat city churches to the underpaid Presidency of Harvard and thereby lost their control of education and of the colony.

Despite his concessions to economic forces, however, Professor Wertenbaker argues that the chief reasons for the downfall of Zion were internal flaws and the advance of world civilization. The essence of Calvinism was individualism and the attempt to enforce orthodoxy was doomed to fail. The forces of liberalism and rationalism swept over the bible state leaving its rulers high and dry. To adapt Professor Wertenbaker's own confused metaphor, a herd of wooden horses penetrated the walls of Israel, namely schism, liberalism, rationalism, materialism, and wealth. The bible state fell. It had not, during its short but brilliant life, been the sole source of the ideas later regarded as typically American, but Professor Wertenbaker gives a timely reminder that the religious concepts of seventeenth-century American Puritans played a very significant part in forming the American world even though those influences were not always "liberal."

Another important book on the colonial period, by Professor L. W. Labaree, deals with a neglected aspect of early American political thought, namely the origins, nature, and influence of *Conservatism in Early American History*. The attitude of Americans towards colonial conservatives is illustrated by the fact that "Tory" has come to possess universally in the United States a shade of bitterness and contempt which it only assumes in England in the mouths of demagogues. As Professor Laski shows in his *American Democracy*, the basic assumption of many American historians has been that the history of the United States was a history of "progress" and of liberal development. In such a story conservatism, whether of the Federalists after the Revolution or of the finance-capitalists a century later, seemed clearly to be an exotic growth.

Professor Labaree's study is a logical outgrowth of the recent re-writing of the history of the colonies and the revolution. His contribution is to give a much needed synthesis of the origins and development of conservatism throughout the colonial period. He shows that conservatism was brought to America in what has been called "the invisible baggage" of the first settlers. There grew up in all the colonies except Rhode Island a close-knit aristocracy of ruling families which manipulated government in its own interests.

Professor Labaree shows that the revolution was as much a conservative movement as a radical one. The colonial conservatives were defending their predominance in the colonies against the encroachment of a new imperial policy. The time came, however, when they had to choose between their innate conservatism and going on with the revolutionaries towards a goal which might lead to the destruction of that stability and order which they had previously enjoyed. Hence some became Loyalists, while others were the future Federalists.

The crucial period in the formation of the American democracy was, of course, the period of the Revolution; and Professor John C. Miller's *Origins of the American Revolution*, published in 1943, has established itself as a landmark in our progress towards an understanding of that great movement.<sup>3</sup> It has done so, not by virtue of new interpretation, but by the fact that, although completely based on original materials, it presents a synthesis of recent scholarship and interpretations. His succeeding volume which he has called *Triumph of Freedom, 1775-1783* will also

<sup>3</sup>John C. Miller, *Origins of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1943 and London, 1945).

undoubtedly become the standard work on the war period. The book has the advantage of being composed during another great military struggle of the United States and, as a result, the author and his readers possess a knowledge of military terminology and of war problems which would have been lacking during years of peace. The volume is written in a fluent and even racy style appropriate to the subject. Only occasionally does the choice of a word with a particular nuance reveal to the non-American reader, if not to the American, the natural patriotism of a writer who is recording his country's struggle for birth during the period of its fight for survival.

Professor Miller's researches, as in his previous volume, confirm the generally accepted interpretation of the reasons for the American victory. He finds that in this war against "British tyranny" the liberty of the individual to act for his own personal advantage and against the interests of the state could not be suppressed. Even so, the ultimate result was the "triumph of freedom." Liberty, although known to the Ancients and in Europe as late as the preceding century, had been about to die out in western civilization when it was dramatically revived in America. Professor Miller concludes with that idea and so supports his choice of a title. The bulk of his text, however, suggests that, although the Revolution was a triumph *which resulted in freedom*, it was hardly a triumph *as a result of freedom*. Those who were inspired by an unselfish love of liberty were a small minority; and there is no proof that the superiority of their cause was the final arbiter of victory, though no doubt it helped. Professor Miller's title belies his own thesis. He showed quite clearly in this book and in its predecessor that the self-interest of individuals and of classes played an important part in the revolutionary movement and that, although a yearning for "liberty" existed in certain quarters, it was by no means the paramount factor in deciding the struggle in favour of independence.

Professor Miller shows that the Revolutionary War made possible the great experiment of the establishment of an American democracy, but also reveals that there were difficulties ahead in the process of establishing a state which would preserve liberty and yet be possessed of sufficient stability in time of emergency. This was the most serious problem of the new nation. Another book which deals with that question is Professor Dumas Malone's *Jefferson the Virginian*, which is the first of a four-volume biography. When completed, the four volumes, along with a fifty-volume edition of Jefferson's writings which is in preparation by the Princeton University Press, will make possible a fuller understanding of this complex character, who was the most important figure in the shaping of the American democracy. This first volume covers Jefferson's background and training and carries the story on to the end of the Revolution. It thus endeavours to build up his early philosophy and beliefs from his actual actions and words without interpreting them in the light of his later and fuller writings. It includes important and revealing material. Jefferson was at his best as a drafter of legislation and as a committee man, and this book deals with the Declaration of Independence and the Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom. On the other hand his period of office as a war governor in Virginia has aroused great controversy. Jefferson, the philosopher and legalist, was particularly unfitted to attempt to make Virginia's rigid constitution work by the assumption of extra-legal dictatorship. Yet, within the limits of legality, he did what he could. Professor Malone, however, as a result of the necessity of rebutting hostile criticism, becomes over-apologetic for his subject. What Jefferson and the gentlemen of Virginia did to save their state would have been inadequate had it not been for the Herculean struggles of another Virginian

who was disgusted with the men of his "own country." Washington, and the Continental Army aided by French intervention, saved Virginia. Meanwhile, however, the spirit which was to be known later as Jeffersonianism was kept alive during years of peril when it might well have been quenched by its own struggle for existence. Liberty remained though vigorous efforts were necessary to protect it. The experiences of the war period led the Founding Fathers to the realization that government must combine individual liberty with a strong executive power. Jefferson, as a result of his own experiences, realized the need for strength in the executive branches of the state governments and, to a lesser extent, of the federal government. He retained, however, his determination that the executive part of government must operate within clearly marked boundaries and must on no account over-step them. His efforts to put that policy into action and his voluminous philosophical and political writings will form the substance of the later volumes in Professor Dumas's series.

Meanwhile, Carl Van Doren's *The Great Rehearsal*, an account of the meetings of the Federal Convention in 1787 gives an exciting presentation of those momentous hundred days during which the Fathers of the Constitution faced and settled the problem of the executive government along with the other problems of the constitution. The title of the book indicates an over-optimistic belief that the problem of federating national states today can be as easily settled as it was in 1787. Although the book may be of little effect in giving guidance to students of modern world problems, it undoubtedly provides the best popular, readable, and authoritative account of the fashioning of the structure of the American democracy.

Other recent books deal with the evolution of the American democracy after its foundation and with problems which troubled it and which affected its nature. One of these books has a title which might have been more appropriate to Professor Laski's work. It is Professor Roy Frank Nichols's *The Disruption of American Democracy*. This title is unlikely to be widely understood in the United States and is certain to be misunderstood elsewhere. The device of an elaborate preface to explain it is a poor expedient to remedy the resulting confusion.

Professor Nichols in this volume deals with the disintegration, in the years immediately before the Civil War, of the Democratic party which was "officially" named at that time "The American Democracy." The book is thus another monograph among the large number written recently about these vital years in the history of the Republic.<sup>4</sup> Nichols has already contributed two monographs on the decade of the eighteen-fifties, *The Democratic Machine, 1850-1854* and *Franklin Pierce*.<sup>5</sup> This third book is mainly concerned with the machinations of Democratic politicians in those post-war years, and refers only incidentally to other important developments of the time such as the rise of abolitionist feeling in the North and of the Republican party in the West. In an early chapter Professor Nichols criticizes recent expositions of the origins of the Civil War for being diverted from the main issue to particular problems such as "Was the Civil War inevitable?" He argues that the basic causes of division had long existed and that the real question to be answered is "Why did they lead to war just at this time?" His answer is that the Democratic party was striving to retain the predominance it

<sup>4</sup>Reference to a number of these was made in the last article reviewing books on American history in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, Sept., 1947, pp. 300-11.

<sup>5</sup>Roy F. Nichols, *The Democratic Machine 1850-1854* (New York, 1923); Roy F. Nichols, *Franklin Pierce, Young Hickory of the Granite Hills* (Philadelphia and London, 1931).

had enjoyed for a long time but that it failed to preserve its cohesion in face of what he calls the problems of "cultural federalism." He claims that previous writers have regarded political parties as collections of easily distinguishable interests whereas they are, in fact, an attempt to co-ordinate the confusion of prevailing attitudes in American life, some of which are cohesive and some disruptive. The former were Protestantism and romanticism; the latter were metropolitanism, territorialism, southernism, New Englandism, and anti-slaveryism. Further cohesive forces were nationalism, regionalism, and democracy. The leaders who best understood these forces were striving to make the cohesive forces outweigh the divisive; but not enough of them understood that the United States had a "cultural federalism" as well as a "political federalism." In other words they played politics. Their failure led to the presentation of an ultimatum to the North by the Southern group of Democratic politicians. The "American Democracy" challenged the democratic principle of majority government; "mob rule" was what they called it. The result was the Civil War.

Though the reader may not easily follow Professor Nichols through his creation, destruction, and re-creation of straw-men in the early part of his volume, he performs a valuable service in directing attention once more to the immediate causes of the Civil War, to the weaknesses of man as a "political animal," and to the last-ditch resistance of the Southern oligarchy whose self-interestedness has been obscured by the work of whitewashers. In particular he describes in full and interesting fashion the play and counter-play of democratic politics during the period. In this subject, if not in the full panorama of the period which he covers, Professor Nichols's work will replace all previous expositions.

Professor Nichols's book draws attention to one of the weaknesses of the American democracy—the failure of practising politicians to comprehend the fundamental principles of which it is composed. Three books among the present collection throw some light on this problem in different periods. The first in chronology is F. H. Harrington's *Fighting Politician: Major General N. P. Banks* which shows that, even in the midst of a great struggle for existence, Lincoln appointed to high military command a man with no military experience but with a flare for politics. The appointment was based on the idea that "administrative ability" could serve well in the military field; and Lincoln continued to place greater trust in this political appointment than in his professional generals. One thing that can be said in Banks's favour as a military leader is that he did not do any worse than most of the West Pointers in the Northern army. On the other hand, although he lived to a ripe old age, he died as bankrupt of political principles and ideas as he had lived.

Banks was a "practical politician" projected into a very technical job for which he had neither training nor capacity. The second book is the self-revelation of a "practical politician" functioning in his own sphere. *Jim Farley's Story* was written in order to record for history his contact with great affairs. There can be no doubt that its value is different from what the writer had in mind. Mr. Farley was primarily concerned with "politics" in the limited popular sense of the word which signifies the obtaining of office and the rewarding of faithful supporters. He had little concern with, or interest in, "politics" in its fuller sense, as it was used by the Ancients and is still understood in Europe and in academic usage in North America, meaning the science of government in all its aspects including not merely obtaining office but also dealing with problems of state. Mr. Farley's autobiography reveals his limitations by its lack of discussion of issues, principles, policies, and



matters of state *per se*. For instance, from the beginning of the book until the election of Roosevelt, except for a brief passing reference to prohibition, Mr. Farley makes no mention of any issue, policy, or political principle; he does not mention even the depression and its results.

Mr. Farley's revelations about the political affairs with which he was concerned centre inevitably around his direction of the first two campaigns of F. D. Roosevelt and the growth of his estrangement from Roosevelt. He is at pains from the beginning of the book to paint the president as a monster of ingratitude and duplicity even though he was at the same time a charming traitor. In this respect the campaign manager follows the path of all king-makers. He made Roosevelt president, he wanted to control him, and when Roosevelt proved to be independent of, and indeed greater than, his maker, Mr. Farley felt thwarted. He hoped to be Roosevelt's successor. Hence the depth of his chagrin when Roosevelt refused to make a categorical statement against a third term. Mr. Farley ascribes Roosevelt's acceptance of a third term to his desire not to be followed by another Democrat lest that person, presumably Mr. Farley, "might succeed and might clear up some of the disturbing problems, causing his [Roosevelt's] record to suffer by comparison" (p. 312).

Benjamin Quarles's biography of *Frederick Douglass* throws a different light on the activity of politicians in the American democracy. As an escaped slave, Douglass had a deep purpose in his political reforming activity. His powers of oratory at one and the same time gave him a weapon to use in the cause of abolitionism and were evidence of the "perfectibility" of the Negro which the abolitionists preached. His later association with reconstruction on the one hand, and with all reform movements on the other, show that an idealist can be a practical politician but that he may also, unwittingly, produce evil as a result of his search for good.

The only remaining book on the growth of the American democracy is William Warren Sweet's *The American Churches*, an important little book which has been enlarged from the author's Beckly lecture to the British Methodist Conference in 1946. The Beckly lectures were intended by the founder to deal with the social implications of the gospel but, if this book is any indication of the contents of his lecture, Professor Sweet interpreted his commission very loosely. The result is an invaluable brief interpretative survey of the history of religion in America from the pen of one of the most outstanding present-day American historians of religion. The author's point of view is at once both Protestant and ecumenical. He is impressed by the contributions of "left-wing Protestantism" to the spirit of America and to the growth of the American democracy. *Vice versa*, he shows that the circumstances of American life (especially the life of the frontier) and also those peculiarly American problems—the negro and the assimilation of the large immigration from Europe—had tremendous effect on the nature of the American churches, on the recurrence of revivalist movements, and on the astonishing growth of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. One thing which is implied but is not as fully stated as one might wish is the great vitality of the religious spirit in North America despite that growth of the social function in the American churches which has so frequently been regarded as the most significant characteristic of American religious development. Professor Sweet, as a result perhaps of the limitations of his subject, perhaps of a natural and courteous reaction to his audience, or perhaps in response to the widely-held belief that America is more "materialist" and therefore less religious than England, makes no comparison of



the strength of religion in the two countries. Had he done so, he might perhaps have found that one significant result of the great migration from Europe has been the preservation of religion as a vital force in the American democracy while in Europe it has undergone serious decline. Professor Sweet would no doubt agree with Professor Laski that the churches have retained great power in American life, not only because of their social work but because they have given immeasurable consolation to millions. He might not agree with him, however, in saying that their influence on social behaviour has been relatively small and that on the whole their chief contribution has been towards a retention of the *status quo* in society. He would profoundly disagree with Professor Laski's estimate of the church as the handmaiden of big business. His own attitude is that the poor are crying for spiritual guidance and that the problem for the Protestant evangelical churches is to find ways to enable well-trained ministers to cater to those needs just as the revivalists of old catered to the frontiersman. Professor Laski and Professor Sweet have, of course, very different concepts of the ultimate purpose of man. Yet, in their different ways, they contribute much to the understanding of this important aspect of the growth of the American democracy.

The books covered thus far have touched upon most of the fundamental problems of the American democracy, the problem of its origins, of its debt to Europe, of the causes of the revolutionary outbreak and of its success; the problem of creating a stable political structure for a large area with a sound balance between various parts of the constitution and without the loss of dearly-won liberty; the problem of the selfish economic groups which, however, played their part in the growth of America; the problem of the self-interested politicians whose existence has proved to be a necessary evil; and the problem of the spiritual influences within the body politic. With this brief resumé of the development of the American democracy in mind we can turn now to Professor Laski's re-interpretation.

Inevitably, such assessments as his are based upon the point of view of the interpreter; and the validity of the interpretation must always be examined in the light of the author's known interests and proclivities. As a European socialist, Professor Laski believes that democratic progress can be achieved only by planning and by a collective economy. He is convinced that the day of the "market economy" (he dislikes speaking of "free" enterprise) is ended. Although he carefully refrains from going so far as to advocate socialism for America, he argues that, without planning, the destiny of America is towards "a greater concentration of wealth" and "a growing need to penetrate the foreign market," a goal which is alien to the ideas of the early days of the American democracy. Thus Professor Laski says, "one of the difficulties in explaining Americanism is that the rulers of the United States seek to define an experimental and adventurous civilization in terms of principles which no longer express its main qualities. As a result, it is failing to adapt its moral to its material environment" (p. 478). He also argues that, since the Civil War, the principles on which the United States was built have been maintained by lip-service only and indeed are no longer tenable. In effect, he suggests that the original ideas of the founders are not practicable in the modern world and America must chose between socialist planning or capitalist imperialism.

Professor Laski believes that the growth of business and its clash with labour will inevitably lead to a "real" difference between American political parties, and that the American constitution will have to be amended to permit a more efficient system of government. He does not, however, believe that a parliamentary system would work in the United States. He thinks that the constitution will continue to

safeguard civil liberty but that it must be fashioned so that it will also foster economic equality. In the extent to which American society has already progressed from the original ideas of the founders he sees proof that it can reach what he regards as a more perfect form of democracy.

The book's effect on its readers will, of course, be conditioned by their preconceived opinions. The author allows his own opinions to protrude themselves in a way which will prove irritating to his political opponents and which will not further his cause. For example, he castigates both labour and "big business" in America for their violence and corruption and then proceeds to give numerous instances of the sins of big business but not of labour. Again, to illuminate his comments on the United States, he makes many references to the achievements of the Soviet Union in the way of economic and social democracy, but he neglects to make comparisons of the state of civil liberty in the two countries. He makes occasional reluctant references to his dislike of Soviet aggression, but he argues at length that the economic imperialism of the United States is responsible for friction and for the danger of a third world war. South-eastern Europe, he points out, is very largely penetrated by Russian influences and, according to him, is increasingly "hopeful" of Russian protection. Apparently Russia's economic imperialism does not alarm him at all. In all these things his writing is slanted by his dislike of capitalism and his leaning towards socialism, even where socialism is accompanied by the suppression of political democracy.

Professor Laski professes a great admiration for the United States but shows himself to be a master of the art of damning by faint praise. Thus he writes, "Broadly speaking, the record of the United States as an international power is better than that of most other great nations. But . . ."; then, in this field, as in others, he allows his personal interests and prejudices to present a very distorted picture by detailing the exceptions at length.

No doubt it is very good for Americans to be subjected to such searching criticism by one who writes so fluently and who knows so much about their history and their country. And on particular topics, Professor Laski's comments are of immense value. As an outsider he sees what the native misses or thinks not worth recording. For example, with regard to higher education, he says things about the presidential system of university administration which an American professor would be less likely to say. Also, while he is appreciative of the work of those university presidents whose names are spoken with awe in the United States, he deflates them very thoroughly in a manner which might have appeared to be some form of personal spite if it had come from an American.

Notwithstanding the evidence of a particular viewpoint in his portrayal of the American scene, *The American Democracy* is a book which will have permanent value. There is much sound criticism of the American system as it exists today which will be of interest to the historians of tomorrow: And even those readers who dislike the element of vague political prophecy which obtrudes in places and the guarded references to a "new America," presumably a socialist America, which is to be born, will probably admit that there is still much truth in his analysis of a general trend in American democracy toward a form of society very different from that which the founders visualized.

The validity of Professor Laski's conclusions will probably be accepted or denied by his readers in accordance with their own attitude towards socialism and "private enterprise." As regards the future, the testimony of the fate of de Toqueville and Bryce as prophets would seem to suggest that Laski, like them,

will be hailed as a penetrating contemporary critic with a broad understanding of general trends of development but with an inevitable tendency to base his portrayal of the future on his own ideology.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Le Citoyen Canadien-Français: Notes pour servir à l'enseignement du civisme.* By J. ESDRAS MINVILLE. 2 vols. Montréal: Éditions Fides. 1946. Pp. 277; 341. (\$3.25)

ANYONE who makes a real attempt to understand the French Canadians soon comes to realize that the main conditioning factor in their evaluation of themselves and the world is their fear that they may not survive as a distinctive cultural group, as a "nation." This has doubtless been true since 1763 but it has cut into the consciousness of no generation more sharply than this one. The books which French Canadians have composed upon this theme are legion. Yet, in many ways, this work of Esdras Minville is the most significant discussion that has appeared.

It is important because it is a synthesis of some fifteen years of intensive thinking about the problem by a man who, both through his numerous writings, and through his high place in the educational world of French Canada (he is at present head of the École des hautes études commerciales in Montreal) has won amongst his own people the reputation of being one of their ablest spokesmen. Unfortunately, M. Minville's contacts with English-speaking Canada have been infrequent, so that he is not as well known there as his work and his charming personality warrant. Those who had the privilege of hearing him speak at the University of Toronto last winter had no difficulty in seeing why he is held in such respect in French Canada.

This book is also of importance because in it are brought together the conclusions of many other French Canadians who have dealt with this problem in recent years. It is essentially a summary of "nationaliste" thinking, presented in a clear, usually sober, and positive manner. As such, no English Canadian who proposes to understand his fellow French Canadians, and to deal with them sympathetically, can afford to disregard this work. Doubtless, English-speaking readers will feel their blood pressure rise at many points in their perusal, for M. Minville does not hesitate to name what he dislikes, and occasionally enthusiasm or alarm cause him to overstep his ordinary sobriety. I would advise the English-speaking reader to control his natural impulses on such occasions and read to the end. This statement deserves a hearing whatever disagreement one may find with it.

*Le Citoyen Canadien-Français* is, as its title suggests, directed first and foremost at the author's fellow French Canadians. For them it is designed as a resounding warning against the present trend of events. It is a cry of danger. But at the same time it is a comprehensive, and well-thought-out programme of reform. Time and again M. Minville points out that it is foolish merely to react against something—foolish and useless. Consequently he is concerned to discover what can be done to remedy the situation. This work then is meant as a call to action. Let French Canadians do something to help themselves or suffer the consequences of doing nothing. That is his view.

French Canada's survival, in the author's opinion, was never more in question than today. Not now, however, on the political level so much as on that of social and economic life. The coming of industrialized, urban society, and that under the aegis of a people antipathetic or indifferent to French-Canadian traditions has put the whole French-Canadian way of life into jeopardy. And it has done so much more subtly and insidiously than has or could any forthright political attack.

To combat this threat, French Canadians must be reawakened to a clear understanding of the bases of their culture, and to the need to preserve them. Then they must reorient their daily life—not retreat, for that cannot be—but so refashion their present ways of doing things as to bring their culture and modern living into harmony. The special mission of French Canada, to carry the message of Catholic French culture to this continent, must not be forsaken or lost.

To fulfil this special mission, their only *raison d'être*, according to M. Minville, French Canadians must be free to control their own society. This means they must cling to their traditional rights, as defined in the constitutional foundations of Canada. They must support decentralization in Canadian politics, and oppose centralizing tendencies at Ottawa under any leadership. They should control their own economic life. On this score, M. Minville's hope is centred in the very successful development of the co-operative movement in Quebec. Especially must there be a thorough-going reorganization of education over all its range from infancy to the adult in order that the French-Canadian people may be stirred to a full realization of what must be done, and be shown how to do it. The author minces no words about the shortcomings of French Canadians, any more than he does about the weaknesses of North American civilization. He tells his people plainly that their best and only hope of surviving is to live up to the principles they profess. This will certainly mean sacrifices for everyone. But failure to do so means annihilation.

In the whole argument, the fundamental point is that French Canada and French Canadians can remain true to themselves only if they retain a culture which rests upon Christian foundations. Everything, the maintenance of the best from the past, the reorientation of present-day living, must be seen in relation to a Christian philosophy of life. Only thus can unity of effort and true perspective, can a society with a sound respect for human values, be achieved.

Given such an emphasis it is natural that M. Minville should have relied heavily upon the social encyclicals of recent popes in working out his programme of reforms for French Canada. In fact, we may say that his effort is an attempt to work out the implications of those encyclicals in his own milieu, and that he sees French-Canadian survival with reference to the success of that programme.

With the idea that present society has need of rejuvenation and reorientation in terms of an effective Christianity, this reviewer will not quarrel. Nor even with the assertion that French Canada has a special mission to demonstrate on this continent what a Christian society can be. Let French Canadians fulfil their special mission. All success to them. But whether they can do so in this modern materialistic world all on their own, and forget that there are untold numbers of other Christians on even this continent who have similar fears and similar aspirations, even though they speak English, is a question that may have an answer very different from that for which M. Minville seems to hope.

Can this very great problem be identified so exclusively with French Canada as M. Minville gives the impression of doing? Perhaps the most curious aspect of this book is the author's failure to discuss in any adequate way the relation between French-speaking and English-speaking Catholics. Outside of a brief reference to the fact that Catholic standards apply to all Catholics everywhere, this relationship—certainly one of no mean importance in Canada and the United States—is scarcely mentioned save in connexion with the development of education where it is implied that English-speaking Catholic schools have too far succumbed to the materialistic demands of this continent. If M. Minville cannot find a basis for

co-operation between English-speaking and French-speaking Catholics in the struggle against materialism, it is perhaps too much to ask him to see such a possibility with Protestants. Nonetheless, if he will only take time to examine recent Protestant literature, whether from North America, Great Britain, or other parts of the Protestant world, he will find much that is so close to his own point of view as to be easily mistaken for it. How this could be if there is not some common Christian basis is hard to comprehend. With the survival of a French Canada and of a Christian French Canada, I have the greatest sympathy but I wonder if M. Minville's ideal can ever be realized in insularity. Surely the pressures of the modern world are too great against religion, against Christianity everywhere, for any Christian community to survive in isolation. Only the co-operation of all Christians will enable any to persist in this age of materialism. This is now a worldwide problem, and for Christians it can be solved only through the spirit of "United we stand, divided we fall."

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*Champlain: The Life of Fortitude.* By MORRIS BISHOP. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1948. Pp. vi, 364, vii. (\$4.00)

THE author of this biography is a very versatile person. He is chairman of the Department of Romance Languages in Cornell University, and an authority on seventeenth-century French literature; he is also the author (under a pseudonym) of a clever and amusing detective story, and he contributes verses and skits to the *New Yorker*. It might seem that for him to have ventured into the field of Canadian history savours of temerity; but the temerity is more apparent than real. Professor Bishop's profound knowledge of French literature and history in the seventeenth century gives him a background for the study of Champlain's life and work such as no previous writer on Champlain has possessed; and his literary gifts, his sound scholarship, and his humour and imagination have combined to make his biography of Champlain by far the best that has hitherto been published. Add to this the fact that he has apparently visited and studied the localities in Canada where Champlain lived and died; and it will be seen that his book is a contribution of real importance to the history of New France.

His view of history is refreshingly realistic. "In reading history," he writes, "one must always be impressed by the fact that our knowledge is only a collection of scraps and fragments that we put together into a pleasing design, and often the discovery of one new fragment would cause us to alter utterly the whole design. Few men write of their deeds, and few write down the talk of others; and fires, war, damp, and mildew destroy the written words. And in the old days pastry-cooks bought letters and sheets of books to wrap their dainties in; and many a manuscript has gone to light fires; and of the great, universal annihilator of paper I am too prudish to speak."

Professor Bishop has had the advantage, denied to most of Champlain's previous biographers, of the magnificent edition of Champlain's *Works* published by the Champlain Society under the editorship of the late Dr. H. P. Biggar; and it is pleasant to be able to record his tribute to the translation of Champlain in this edition by Mr. H. H. Langton. He describes it as "a model of fidelity and felicity," though he adds that it "improves Champlain's often slipshod style."

What I like most in Professor Bishop's book is his delineation of Champlain's character and personality. Champlain comes to life in his pages as he does not in Champlain's own narratives. Professor Bishop conceives of him as "a lean, ascetic type, dry and dark, probably rather under than over normal size." (The traditional portrait of Champlain showing "a plump, middle-aged face, with prideful, espaliered mustaches, and an overfed, sedentary body," has been known for nearly half-a-century to be a fraud.) "He was," says Professor Bishop, "a good man. He had the qualities necessary for the adventurer: toughness, tenacity, foresight, courage. But it was the natural virtue of his spirit that little by little impressed itself on the hard fur-traders and on the perfidious Indians. Not many of the great conquerors of our continent have been eminently good men." He had faults, but they were "the faults of the idealist." In his attempt to analyse Champlain's psychology, Professor Bishop sometimes indulges in guesswork; but the guesses seem to the present reviewer good guesses, based on a sound appreciation of the outlook of seventeenth-century Frenchmen.

There are a hundred and one passages in which Professor Bishop illuminates the life and work of Champlain, and indeed the history of his time; but perhaps enough has been said to show that his book is a notable contribution to the history of New France. It is, moreover, eminently readable, and is a shining example of how the most scholarly work can be set forth in a manner that appeals to the lay reader.

Having indicated the great admiration I have for Professor Bishop's book, I may perhaps be allowed to draw attention to an inconsistency in his pages which is probably the result of following thoughtlessly in the footsteps of a host of previous writers. For some obscure reason, it has long been customary to refer to the *Sieur de Monts* as "de Monts," and to the *Sieur de Caën* as "de Caën," though the particle "de" is omitted in the case of others (including Champlain) who are equally entitled to it. Surely "Monts" and "Caën" are sufficient. Fortunately, the discrepancy is corrected in the excellent index with which Professor Bishop's book is provided.

May we hope that Professor Bishop will continue his researches into the history of New France?

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*Life and Voyages of Louis Jolliet (1645-1700)*. By JEAN DELANGLEZ. (Institute of Jesuit History Publications, vol. VI.) Chicago: Institute of Jesuit History. 1948. Pp. vii, 289. (\$5.00)

*Kaskaskia under the French Regime*. By NATALIA MAREE BELTING. (Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. XXIX, no. 3.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1948. Pp. 140. (\$1.50, paper; \$2.50, cloth)

HITHERTO the standard life of Jolliet has been that by Ernest Gagnon; this was first published in 1902 and has proved sufficiently popular to run through four editions, the last appearing as recently as 1946. Professor Delanglez's book will undoubtedly supersede M. Gagnon's as a definitive study of Jolliet, but it is doubtful if it will ever be read. It embodies a great deal of scholarly research, it gives all the facts that are likely to be discovered about Jolliet and his explorations, and



those facts have every appearance of being accurate. It is reasonably impartial, though the author obviously does not like Parkman, and the very definite bias against Frontenac which was to be found in his previous work, *Frontenac and the Jesuits* (1939), is still present, especially in his discussion of Jolliet's business activities on the lower St. Lawrence. Jolliet was probably no better and no worse than other fur-traders of that day: he took what he could get.

What, then, is the matter with this book? In part its trouble lies in Mr. Delanglez's literary style, which is just dull; there is no life in it, no colour, and for much of the time Jolliet is lost in long arguments about the historical sources; three chapters, one on the "Primary Manuscript Evidence," the second on the "Cartographical Evidence," and the third on the "Secondary Sources" (pp. 44-99) should occur, if at all, as appendices. The main trouble, however, is to be found in the fact that the author has no skill in the art of book-making. He has contributed seventeen relevant articles to the periodical *Mid-America*; these are the basis for the present work, but he has not succeeded in welding them into a coherent book. So constantly is he clipping pieces from these articles that he develops the very irritating habit of saying "we have explained" or "we have shown" (for example, pp. 73, 96, 110) when the explanation is not in the book at all, but in one of his previous articles.

Little exception can be taken to the conclusions to which Mr. Delanglez comes, for he is scholarly and painstaking: it might be suggested that the arguments in favour of making Dablon the author of the first draft of the Manitoumie maps are rather thin (pp. 72-7); from its form, it is clear that the quotation on page 236 is not an extract from a letter from Jolliet but a mere synopsis of such a letter; notes 13 and 14 on page 239 are rather unfortunately transposed, and some of the maps are so reduced in size as to be almost useless, while no indication at all is given as to what the map on page 206 refers to. With these few exceptions, the book can be classified as a sound work of reference on the sources of Jolliet's biography.

Miss Belting's work on *Kaskaskia under the French Regime* is totally different. It is true she has the same scholarly approach as Mr. Delanglez, she has consulted all the available material in the United States, and is fortunate in being able to supplement the invaluable local records in the Randolph County courthouse and in St. Louis University with photostats of relevant papers in the Paris and Quebec archives that have been made for the Illinois Historical Survey. But she bears her learning lightly, and her copious information as to family relationships, which should delight the heart of any French-Canadian genealogist, she very properly relegates to footnotes or to the appendix in which she prints extensive extracts from the parish registers and from the census of the Illinois country taken in 1752. The result is that her chapters make very pleasant reading. Kaskaskia today may be beneath the waters of the Mississippi, but Miss Belting has recreated the life and movement of this frontier settlement. So far as her sources permit, she tells us just what we want to know and does it with skill and charm.

But to a student of the French-Canadian habitant, the picture that she draws is even more important than she knows. It is very doubtful if the frontier theory of Professor Turner can be applied to the history of New France and, if it can, it must be subjected to drastic qualifications.<sup>1</sup> Was this the result of some inherent difference between the French and the English colonists? Kaskaskia shows that this was not the case, for there the houses were grouped together in a compact

<sup>1</sup>See A. L. Burt in the *Canadian Historical Association Report for 1940* for some discussion of this matter.

village designed for defence as in New England, not in a row along the river bank as in New France. According to Miss Belting, the village elected its own syndic, apparently quite freely, local government was carried on in village assemblies with the syndic taking the chair, and, in matters outside their competence, they did not hesitate to draw up petitions asking the commandant to take action; there was no seigneur, and the villagers held their lands by grant made by the commandant, Boisbriant, in 1719; moreover part of these villagers were French Canadians, and there is no evidence at all of any influence from the English colonies. Real frontier conditions were creating the normal pattern of frontier life, even on men from France or from New France. Also it may be noted that the inhabitants of Kaskaskia had attained a happy balance between fur trading with the Indians and agriculture, and though the former produced quicker wealth, the village made much money by exporting in normal years 100,000 pounds or more of flour to New Orleans and the Louisiana country—a strong contrast to conditions in New France. Miss Belting's little book is certainly one to be read by a student of French-Canadian history.

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*Les cahiers des dix, no. 12.* Montréal: Les Dix. 1947. Pp. 284.

IN this number the authors present papers on a variety of subjects. The first article, from the pen of the late E.-Z. Massicotte, one of the original ten, describes eleven Montreal libraries of the nineteenth century. Pierre-Georges Roy describes the boatmen of Lévis of the third quarter of the nineteenth century, a race which has vanished as their utility ceased. M. Roy describes the boats in great detail, tells how they operated, and records the names of the best-known boatmen.

Mgr Olivier Maurault contributes an account of three Sulpician priests who came to Canada in the eighteenth century. One named Artaud crossed the Atlantic, surprisingly enough, in fifty-eight days, in 1731, and said "We did not lack any poultry, fresh bread or fresh meat." Ten years later, one Pagès took four months. The third Sulpician, Dargent, provides an unflattering description of the inhabitants of Quebec. "The trouble," he says, "is that most of the officers, townspeople, and artisans are poor as painters and proud as peacocks. The peasants who are called habitants in this country have indeed a good lot. They put it all on their backs or eat it. One girl who keeps cows during the week, wears laces, sometimes ribbons, but always a panier on Sundays. There was one year when they did not know what to do with their wheat, now they are going to die of hunger because it is all eaten, proof of their foresight and management. What I tell you is common throughout the country."

L'abbé Albert Tessier, tells, in great detail, of the difficulties of the forges of Saint Maurice, early in the eighteenth century.

M. Léo-Paul Desrosiers gives extracts from the diaries of the pharmacist Romuald Trudeau, which cover the years 1820-45. The writer was interested in national and municipal politics. M. Jean Bruchési gives the history of l'Institut Canadien de Quebec, now 100 years old.

M. Aristide Beaugrand-Champagne returns to the subject of Hochelaga, its location, and the road which led to it in the sixteenth century. His article is well illustrated with maps. The implication is that he has solved the problem once and for all. The editor, Mgr Maurault, says "Perhaps."

M. Victor Morin records the texts of thirty-five plaques which have been removed for one cause and another from historic sites in Montreal, or have been proposed but not erected. In many ways his contribution is more important than a list of tablets, extant for all to see, and certainly more difficult to assemble.

M. Maréchal Nantel, in a scholarly article describes the buildings which have housed the law courts of Montreal. His good taste is reflected in his obvious opinion that the addition in 1894 of a storey and cupola took from the old law courts the purity of their early lines. An expansion in 1903, at a cost of almost a million dollars, brought about the demolition of St. Gabriel's church which removed an old Montreal landmark.

Last, but by no means least, M. Gérard Malchelosse, under the title "A propos de nos origines," describes a system of notes left by Benjamin Sulte, who died in 1923, by means of which, M. Malchelosse assures the reader, the answers to questions involving the numbers of immigrants, their sex, trade, and provinces of origin prior to 1750, can be quickly and accurately answered. In addition M. Malchelosse gives an extensive bibliography of the published works of Sulte and compares the organization of his information with that of Tanguay.

The volume is attractively printed and has an index prepared by M. Malchelosse.

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*Part of a Dispatch from George Simpson, Esqr., Governor of Rupert's Land, to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, London, March 1, 1829. Continued and completed March 24 and June 5, 1829.* Edited by E. E. RICH, with an introduction by W. STEWART WALLACE. (Hudson's Bay Company series X.) Toronto: Champlain Society. 1947. Pp. lii, 277, x.

THE title of this latest volume from the Hudson's Bay Company Archives is misleading. The words "Part of a Dispatch" stand at the head of the original manuscript and therefore appear in the title, but the manuscript, written piecemeal at three widely different dates, was finally completed by Simpson, and the whole, concluded by his signature, is given here. The Dispatch is Simpson's story of his second crossing of the mountains in 1826 in company with Archibald McDonald whose own account of the journey was published in 1872. Much is added to the work by Mr. Wallace's careful cross-references and generous quotations from McDonald.

High policy lay behind Simpson's journey. The fate of America west of the Rockies was in the balance between the American and British governments. Finding their claims irreconcilable, the two governments had agreed by a convention of August, 1827 to prolong, subject to a year's notice, the joint occupancy arranged in 1818. Mr. Wallace relates Simpson's journey to these suspended and inconclusive negotiations, but expresses surprise at how much is left unsaid about the boundary question both in the Dispatch now published and the official correspondence thus far unearthed at Bishopsgate. Nevertheless, much of what Simpson writes bears out Mr. Wallace's conjecture. It can hardly have been for the ears of the Hudson's Bay Company committee alone that Simpson reported his findings that "the Slave trade in all its horrors . . . forms the most profitable part of the business" of American traders on the Pacific coast; or that "they deal largely in Guns, Ammunition and Liquor in defiance of existing Treaties." Here Simpson

is surely providing ammunition to his own foreign office. His clear implication, based on the danger of navigating the Fraser, that to lose the Columbia is to lose the coast is aimed at the same address. Likewise much of the Dispatch is an appreciation of the Hudson's Bay Company's prospects of driving American fur traders, bag and baggage, out of the disputed territory and remaining in sole effective occupancy. Simpson believed they could do it and was right. Their triumph, of course, was wasted. When the Company was in the ascendant, the Pacific boundary question was let slide by the successive Reform governments of Grey and Melbourne; and when at last Aberdeen and Peel had to make the belated settlement with Polk, the Company's ascendancy was lost to the increasing wave of American immigration. In the circumstances the Tories did well to secure, over the dead body of Polk's election pledges, the boundary of the 49th parallel, which, the introduction reminds us, represented the last inch that John Quincy Adams would have conceded peaceably in 1827. Mr. Wallace's introduction is well-documented with short and admirably chosen quotations from the American correspondence on these negotiations that preceded Simpson's journey. One regrets that he does not attempt an equivalent picture of the views of the British government, which was equally a party to the negotiations. The Americans had tried to get a boundary up to the 51st parallel west of the mountains and their "ultimatum," in Henry Clay's phrase, was the 49th. The really surprising thing about the whole business is that they did not get everything they asked. England in the eighteen-twenties was little interested in the acquisition of overseas territory. The War of American Independence, whose end still lay within the personal memory of any Englishman of fifty, had sickened her of populating new colonies which apparently had only to mature in order to revolt. New possessions raised new problems of defence, and the Colonial Office (for long a branch of the War Office) was shy of such responsibilities; it wished only to cut its imperial coat according to its cloth, and its cloth, the defensive military power of Britain, was reckoned to dictate the shortest and most circumscribed garment practicable. It seems an unheroic policy, of course, but it was a sanely realistic one, as campaigns in Burma and Malaya have lately emphasized. At the close of the Napoleonic Wars it had inspired the restitution of nearly the whole of the conquered Dutch East Indian Empire; what Britain kept consisted only of naval bases—the Cape and Ceylon—which the once bitten and twice shy Admiralty dared not see again in any one else's hands. It is this background which makes it surprising that a few years later a British government was not willing to let the Americans settle the Pacific boundary on their own terms. The Navy then possessed no Pacific squadron; if it had, the dangerous mouth of the Columbia would have been a valueless anchorage for it. Yet Canning and Huskisson refused to yield the 51st or to be content with the 49th parallel. The reasons for their adamancy Mr. Wallace permits us to glean from Gallatin's final dispatch to Washington; "national pride" forbade the relinquishment of claims upheld by the costly mobilization against Spain in 1790 (not for nothing did Canning claim to be Pitt's disciple); further, the government felt "itself bound to protect the existing establishments which have been created by British capital and enterprise," and here Gallatin launches into a string of vituperative adjectives ("monopolizing," "rapacious") against the British Company we have to thank for Canada's possession of British Columbia and our enjoyment of the present volume.

But there is much more in Simpson's Dispatch than worries or complaints about the Americans. The local historian will find descriptions of posts, the

economist calculations of profit and loss, the internal economy of fur posts, and much on Pacific trade generally; the anthropologist will welcome parts of Appendix III.

But most interesting is surely Simpson's revelation of himself. During their march over the mountains, McDonald records that Simpson was for several days "very unwell," but, as Mr. Wallace pertinently observes, there is not a hint of this in Simpson's despatch—all that Simpson has to say concerns his disappointment with the scenery and his sympathy for the luckless *voyageurs* packing 100 pounds each over the trail; for unselfconscious revelation of character it would be hard to beat this. Another striking thing about "the Little Emperor," whose blood is said to have "run ice where the fur trade was concerned" is his generous appreciation of the work and difficulties of other men—for example, C. F. John Stuart (pp. 25-6), and C. T. Peter Skene Ogden (p. 65). Equally apparent is his irony—for example, his remarks (p. 53) on the American "Genl. [a Militia Genl.] Ashley of St. Louis"; (the England of 1828 was accustomed to generals who were neither "Shopkeepers," nor "Indian Traders," but Peninsular veterans with a record of serious fighting). Another swift dig—"Thompson's River so named in honour of Mr. Thompson the astronomer who modestly claims its discovery altho' he was never within 300 miles of its waters" (p. 33)—is without justification, as Mr. Wallace reminds us, but it echoes the feelings of old Hudson's Bay men toward the surveyor whom the Company had trained and equipped only to have him turn deserter. One might also remark on the quality of Simpson's writing, his easy power of turning from clear, factual countinghouse argument to racy description of the perils of a rapid. It is to be remembered that this is the twice broken narrative of a busy man who had no time for polishing his periods. Accordingly it may not be going too far to regard it as an example of Simpson's ability in *ex tempore* speaking, and if this view is justifiable, there is no miracle about his absolute ascendancy in Rupert's Land; he ruled his chief factors because they had not the power of speech to argue effectively against him. To appreciate the disparity, one has only to compare the chief factors' reports given in the appendices with the Dispatch itself.

It remains only to congratulate Mr. E. E. Rich, Mr. Wallace, and Miss Alice Johnson on a scholarly and finely produced volume. If one says that this Dispatch is refreshing after the volumes of Minutes we have lately had from the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, that does not imply that Minutes have no value for the historian, but that they cannot rival in interest and pleasure the coherent product of a first-class human mind and personality.

RICHARD GLOVER

Winnipeg, Manitoba.

*Trade Unions in Canada: Their Development and Functioning.* By H. A. LOGAN. Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada. 1948. Pp. xvii, 639. (\$4.75)

PROFESSOR LOGAN'S new book fills a long-felt need of the student of the labour problem in Canada. The product of prodigious research, it is much more than a revision of his earlier work on the same subject. The book is almost entirely re-written, not only to recount fully the rapid development of the Canadian trade union movement in recent years, but also to remedy defects in the earlier work. Less exclusive attention is given to legislative programmes, the more important individual unions (which in the last analysis are the stuff of which the trade union movement is made) are dealt with in considerable detail, and in general the study

is better rounded and more mature. The effect of twenty additional years of painstaking and thoughtful research is readily apparent.

A substantial proportion of the book is necessarily devoted to events which are so recent that they hardly fall within the category of history, and the controversies of the last ten or fifteen years in the trade union movement have produced a highly emotional atmosphere affecting even the independent observer. In view of this fact the dispassionate approach of Professor Logan is remarkable. His object is to produce a factual account, and the array of facts which he has amassed mark his work as authoritative in spite of occasional minor errors. He rarely injects his own opinions into his study and when he does his judgments are cautious and well supported.

One senses that he prefers the industrial type of organization, but in a day when many craft unions are coming to look like industrial unions and no less an organization than the International Typographical Union has suffered a decisive defeat at the hands of a powerful employer combination, a preference for industrial unionism is perhaps nothing more than a recognition of the logic of events. He also shows some disapproval of communist efforts in the trade union movement, stating at one point that "leadership in office . . . seems to have been less suited to the communists than disruption" (p. 256) and at another that "the effort of the communists, for all their idealistic sacrifices, seems to have brought mainly loss to progressive trade unionism in Canada" cramping "the normal free expression of constitutional progressives" and strengthening "the old-line conservative leaders and their patterns of action" (p. 344). Few non-communists, however, would be so restrained in their criticism, and in dealing with the battles over political action in the Canadian Congress of Labour or the struggles for control in steel, auto, and other unions, few would confine themselves so austere as does Professor Logan to observable facts. Perhaps Professor Logan's method is better for the facts are eloquent.

Undoubtedly the most difficult problem of the historian of Canadian trade unionism is the organization of his material. The structure of the labour movement at any given moment in recent history is complex to a degree, and when the time dimension is added the complexity almost defies lucid exposition. Professor Logan's method of organization is a happy one and, in conjunction with his clear style of writing, it has enabled him to present as simple an explanation of the complicated subject-matter as is perhaps possible.

After summarizing the fragmentary evidence on the early brave attempts of Canadian workers at organization, he traces the development of the movement down to the split of 1902. He then turns his attention to individual unions—both national and international—grouping them by industries. The development and structure of these organizations, their policies on wages and other matters, and their techniques and achievements in collective bargaining are admirably summarized. About a third of the book is devoted to this type of analysis and in many ways it is the most important part of the study, packed as it is with valuable and not readily accessible information. In a chapter entitled "Revolutionary Unionism," Professor Logan next deals with the Industrial Workers of the World, the One Big Union, and the communist pilgrimage from the "boring from within" policy through the Workers' Unity League and back again.

The remaining and largest portion of the book is devoted to a history of the Congresses since 1902, and a detailed analysis of their structure and policies. One cannot refrain from criticizing the disposition of space in this part of the study. It



is proper that the Trades and Labor Congress, with its long history, should receive the lion's share of attention, but it is surely remarkable that the total amount of space devoted to the Canadian Congress of Labour (even when the brief treatment of the All Canadian Congress is included) hardly exceeds that reserved for the Catholic syndicates and the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labour. The political action programme of the Canadian Congress of Labour and its war-time policies on wages and collective bargaining are important and deserve all the space devoted to them. The attitude of that Congress to other matters of national and international concern, however, can hardly be disposed of with a brief reference to immigration and the World Federation of Trade Unions.

One could almost wish that more attention had been given to intermediate bodies such as the more important city labour councils and provincial federations, but in a study of the magnitude of Professor Logan's the line has to be drawn somewhere. It is to be hoped that Professor Logan's example will inspire others to inquire more fully into the history of these organizations.

In fact, one of the most important effects of Professor Logan's book will probably be the stimulus it will give to research into all phases of the Canadian labour movement. Almost any of his chapters could well serve as the basis of more extended investigation. The turbulent history of the Canadian Seamen's Union, for example, would repay further study, as would the less spectacular but more constructive achievements of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees, now celebrating its fortieth anniversary. Nor should the biographies of some of Canada's labour leaders be overlooked. John Moffat, to name only one and by no means the best known, exerted an influence on the coal mining community of Nova Scotia which should be of interest to historians and sociologists alike.

It is certain that until a host of such special studies have been developed and correlated, Professor Logan's book will remain the standard work on Canadian trade unionism—the role which his earlier book has filled for the past twenty years.

W. K. BRYDEN

Department of Labour, Saskatchewan.

*Editorial Opinion in the Contemporary British Commonwealth and Empire.* By JAMES G. ALLEN. (University of Colorado Studies, series C, Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. I, no. 4.) Boulder, Colorado. 1946. Pp. xxii, 297-605. (\$1.00, paper; \$2.00, cloth)

In this book, Professor James G. Allen of the University of Colorado selects and reprints in full 196 editorials from newspapers in the British Dominions and colonies (for the period 1943-5) in order to throw light upon the problems of the British Commonwealth and Empire. He selects his editorials in relation to five main topics of interest at the time: the Smuts-Halifax proposals for the Commonwealth, the project of an imperial council, the Prime Ministers' Conference of 1944, the Canberra Conference, the Australian-New Zealand Agreement of 1944, and the constitution of Jamaica. In a brief introduction, Professor Allen draws some general conclusions. He notes, for example, the wide variety of views on the issues under discussion, the attempt of editors to be guided less by sentiment than by the practical aspect of the Commonwealth's bonds, the deep interest in imperial organization and unity, the notable interest in regional alignments within the Commonwealth, especially in Australia and New Zealand, and the general concern for an



international system of security that would embrace the Commonwealth and Empire. He unfortunately includes no editorials from British papers, and it is not possible, therefore, to compare the views of, say, the *Sydney Morning Herald* with those of the *Manchester Guardian* on a given issue.

Editorials, while they are useful data in the study of history, have also some evident limitations. They are usually little more than hurried comments on current events, written in great haste before all the significant evidence is either considered or even available. Seldom do they penetrate below the surface. In the present collection there are some able and illuminating editorials, but there are others which are no more than well-meaning generalities, dashed off because something had to be put in print at a moment of history. Doubtless even these have some importance, but it would not be difficult to find in the records of the period more significant historical evidence.

Such a collection as the present must be selective, and in selection the criteria used are important. Professor Allen does not tell us what considerations guided his choice of newspapers, but on the whole he has shown sound judgment in picking important journals. Some objections, however, may be made to his selection of Canadian papers. He quotes thirty editorials from the *Winnipeg Free Press*, but includes no editorial whatever from the *Montreal Gazette* or the *Ottawa Journal*, two distinguished newspapers whose editorials are always widely quoted in the other journals of Canada. Why is such a heavy weight given to the *Winnipeg Free Press*? Is it because it is specially influential or representative? There is little question but that it has been and is an influential Liberal party organ, with an exceptionally strong and forthright editorial staff, but it can scarcely be regarded as representative in the sense that opinions on its editorial pages are those commonly found in other Canadian newspapers and among the Canadian public. On the contrary, its editorial views on imperial matters have often been singularly out of line with those most prevalent in the Canadian press. It would have removed misunderstanding, had Professor Allen added notes to his volume, explaining the basis on which he made his choice of newspapers. But even as the book stands, students of the British Commonwealth can be grateful to him for the material which he has made accessible.

A. BRADY

The University of Toronto.

*The Old Log House and Bygone Days in Our Villages.* By GAVIN HAMILTON GREEN.  
Goderich, Ont.: The author. 1948. Pp. 201. (\$2.50)

THIS writer a decade ago had a success with his *Old Log School* and he will have another success, now that he is on the verge of eighty-five years, with a companion book, just off the press, about the old log house. What he set out to do was to write a social history of his boyhood years in Huron county. In this he has not failed to note the humorous phases of the pioneer era, indeed all his pages are more or less lighted with his own humour made up of odd expressions and pawky whimsies. He has been a man interested in people throughout the long years and now he shows a very keen interest in writing about them. In *The Old Log House* you will find the story of the wedding parties, surprise parties, barn raisings, logging bees and apple-paring bees, church suppers—in short, the social interests and activities of the pioneer in the Goderich district—at Benmiller, Saltford, Dungannon, Port Talbot, and Sheppardton. He introduces the vagabond and the peddler, the

travelling tailor, the fiddler and the caller-off, the blacksmith and the logger, the miller and the sawyer. Mr. Green has some right to write of the log house for he was born in one, a house that had but one door and only two windows, and a ladder nailed to the wall as the only means of getting "up and down stairs." He launches his tale with a chapter on the pioneer bed bug (Jack Miner used to say he had not seen one for forty years) and he closes with a chapter on the badge of the era, the pioneer whiskers. Mr. Green deals heavily, of course, in nostalgic memories, but an era in which you could buy good hemlock lumber at \$5.00 a thousand and a well-grown lamb for \$2.50 must have had plenty of poverty and hardship. Hardship or not, he got fun out of life and in his book he has set it down. "Tiger" Dunlop walks into the book and "Gairbraid" is there but there is no other historic figure except M. C. Cameron.

LOUIS BLAKE DUFF

Welland.

*Istoriya Dukhobortsev.* By VASILII ANDREYEVICH SUKHOREV. Grand Forks, B.C.: [The author]. 1944. Pp. 299.

THE author of this book is one of the younger Dukhobors who has spent years assembling material in order that he might provide his people with a convenient history of the sect in their own language. It consists of documents (interspersed with text) dealing with the story of the Dukhobor movement both in Russia and Canada, which it brings down to 1932.

The printing was done in North Kildonan, Manitoba, and appears to be a very creditable piece of work. The author, who is known to his English-speaking neighbors as William A. Soukoreff, is apparently his own publisher.

STUART R. TOMPKINS

The University of Oklahoma.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

PREPARED BY THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

(Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: B.R.H.—Bulletin des recherches historiques; C.H.R.—CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW; C.J.E.P.S.—Canadian journal of economics and political science.)

### I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

- BOLITHO, HECTOR (ed.). *The British Empire*. London, New York, Toronto, Sydney: B. T. Batsford [Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company]. 1947-8. Pp. ix, 246. (\$5.00). To be reviewed later.
- BRADY, A. *Imperialism old and new* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, XLI, sec. 2, 1947, 1-21). Includes a discussion of British imperialism.
- HAWARD, EDWIN. *Ceylon: The new Dominion* (Empire digest, V (9), June, 1948, 53-8). Deals with Ceylon's attainment of Dominion status, on February 4, 1944.
- MANSENGH, NICHOLAS. *Postwar strains on the British Commonwealth* (Foreign affairs, XXVII (1), Oct., 1948, 129-42). Discusses the question of whether the British Commonwealth of Nations has been fundamentally weakened since 1939.

### II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- AMERY, L. S. *The British Commonwealth and the United States* (English-speaking world, XXX (3), May-June, 1948, 59-66).
- BRENNER, J. BARTLET. *A changing North Atlantic triangle* (International journal, III (4), autumn, 1948, 309-19). Discusses Canada's changing position in the North Atlantic triangle.
- BROWN, GEORGE W. *The growth of peaceful settlement between Canada and the United States*. (Contemporary Affairs series, no. 22.) Prepared for the Canada-United States Committee on Education. Published under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1948. Pp. 40. (60c.) Sketches the history of the relations between Canada and the United States during the past 150 years and the growth of the tradition of peaceful settlement of disputes.
- Canada, Department of External Affairs. *Canada at the United Nations, 1947: Report on the second session of the general assembly of the United Nations held in New York, September 16-November 29, 1947*. (Conference series 1947, no. 1.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1948. Pp. 276. (50c.) To be reviewed later.
- Canadian Institute of International Affairs. *Report on the work, 1946-1947*. Toronto: The Institute, 230 Bloor St. W. 1947. Pp. 87.
- PATRY, ANDRÉ. *Les éléments de la politique étrangère du Canada*. (Cahiers du service, IV (9).) Québec: Laval University. [1947]. (15c.)
- PODEA, IRIS S. *Pan American sentiment in French Canada* (International journal, III (4), autumn, 1948, 334-48). Pan Americanism is to French Canadians not so much a set of principles as a sentiment, a bulwark against the Anglo-Saxon world.

### III. CANADA, THE WAR, AND RECONSTRUCTION

- Canadian Bank of Commerce. *War service records, 1939-1945: An account of the war service of members of the staff during the Second World War*. Toronto: The Bank. Head office, 25 King St. W. 1947. Pp. xx, 331.

## IV. HISTORY OF CANADA

## (1) General History

- BERTON, PIERRE. *George Drew* (Maclean's magazine, LXI (19), Oct. 1, 1948, 7, 64-8).
- Canadian Catholic Historical Association. *Reports, 1944-45; 1945-46*. Toronto: The Association. 1945; 1946. Pp. 146, 132; 124, 175.
- Canadian Military Institute, Toronto. *Selected papers from the transactions of the Institute, 1945-46, together with report for 1946 and list of members*. (No. 40.) Toronto: Military Publishing Company. 1946. Pp. 112.
- . *Selected papers from the transactions of the Institute for the balance of the year 1946, together with the report for 1946 and list of members*. (No. 41.) Toronto: Military Publishing Company. 1947. Pp. 77.
- CROSS, AUSTIN. *Coldwell... the man* (National home monthly, XLIX (10), Oct., 1948, 14-15, 30-1).
- Empire Club of Canada, Toronto. *Addresses delivered to the members during the year 1946-47, forty-fourth year of issue*. Toronto: The Club, 14 Elm St. 1947. Pp. ix, 386.
- FERGUSON, G. V. *Freedom and the news*. (Behind the Headlines series, VIII (6).) Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education; Canadian Institute of International Affairs. 1948. Pp. 17. (15c.)
- KEMP, HUGH. *Top man in totem poles* (Maclean's magazine, LXI (9), May 1, 1948, 7, 8, 56-9). A biographical article on Marius Barbeau.
- Macnab Historical Association. *Canadians, vol. I, no. 1*. Foleyet, Ont.: The Assoc. Autumn, 1948. Pp. 8. *Canadians* stresses the work of Canadians in literature and art and is the new quarterly of the Macnab Historical Association.
- MASSEY, VINCENT. *On being Canadian*. Toronto, Vancouver: J. M. Dent and Sons (Canada). 1948. Pp. xiv, 198. (\$3.00). To be reviewed later.
- NICHOLS, M. E. (CP) *The story of the Canadian press*. With a foreword by LEONARD W. BROCKINGTON. Toronto, Vancouver, Halifax: Ryerson Press. 1948. Pp. xvi, 327. (\$5.00) To be reviewed later.
- ROBINSON, JAMES A. *Alexander: Portrait of Field Marshal Viscount Alexander, governor-general of Canada, on his farewell to arms*. With a foreword by the Earl of CALEDON. Banbridge, Ire.: Banbridge Chronicle Press. 1946. Pp. 136. (\$1.25)
- Royal Society of Canada. *List of officers and members and minutes of proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada, 1947*. Ottawa: The Society. 1947. Pp. 207. The Society held its sixty-sixth annual meeting at Laval University on May 26-8, 1947. The proceedings for 1947 are here given as well as the presidential address by H. A. Innis entitled "Minerva's Owl." The following biographical sketches of deceased members are included: "L'abbé Elie-J. Auclair (1866-1946)" by Mgr Emile Chartier; "Lawrence J. Burpee (1873-1946)" by Pelham Edgar; "Sir Thomas Chapais (1858-1946)" by Victor Morin; "Charles McLean Fraser (1872-1946)" by W. A. Clemens; "James Francis Kenney (1884-1946)" by Reginald G. Trotter; "Percy Algernon Taverner" (1875-1947)" by A. E. Porsild; "Henry Marshall Tory (1864-1947)" by R. W. Boyle; "William Ure (1898-1946)" by Melville J. Marshall; "Le cardinal Villeneuve (1883-1947)" by Georges Simard.
- SYLVAIN, ROBERT. *Un singulier historien du Canada* (Revue de l'Université Laval, III (1), sept., 1948, 71-88; III (2), oct., 1948, 145-66). This article is associated with a thesis which the author is preparing on "L'influence de Louis Veullot sur la pensée canadienne-française."
- Waterloo Historical Society. *Thirty-fifth annual report, 1948*. Kitchener: The Society. 1948. Pp. 68. Articles are listed separately in this bibliography.
- WILD, ROLAND. *North of parallel 49* (English-speaking world, XXX (3), May-June, 1948, 74-81). A general article on Canada and Canadianism.

WRIGHT, LOUIS B. *The westward advance of the Atlantic frontier* (Huntingdon library quarterly, XI (3), May, 1948, 261-75). The author points out that we would do well to study the determination of western pioneers to conserve their cultural heritage rather than to romanticize the rebelliousness of the West against the "effete East."

## (2) Discovery and Exploration

CONSTANTIN-WEYER, MAURICE. *La Vérendrye*. Toulouse: Didier; Montréal: Ducharme. 1947. Pp. 134. (\$1.00)

DELANGLEZ, JEAN. *Life and voyages of Louis Jolliet (1645-1700)*. (Institute of Jesuit History publications.) Chicago: Institute of Jesuit History. 1948. Pp. vii, 289. (\$5.00) Reviewed on p. 425.

ODARD, GEORGES. *Bienville, le père de la Louisiane*. Toulouse, France: Didier. [1947.] Pp. 159. (\$1.00)

PEISSON, EDOUARD. *Jacques Cartier, navigateur; cartes et dessins de René Rouweret*. Toulouse: Didier; Montréal: Ducharme. [1947.] Pp. 198. (\$1.25)

PROWSE, GEORGE ROBERT FARRAR. *Cabot's Bona Vista landfall*. Winnipeg: The Author, 145 Hargrave St. [1946.] Pp. 17. (50c.)

STECK, FRANCIS BORGIA. *The "real author" of the Récit* (The Americas, IV (4), Apr., 1948, 474-500). A reply to an article in *Mid-America* (XVII, 173-258) by Jean Delanglez on "The Récit des voyages et découvertes du Père Jacques Marquette." Father Steck's "chief purpose is to show that [Father Delanglez's] essay itself is far from being what it appears to be—the wholesome and praiseworthy product of sound historical scholarship."

## (3) New France

BELTING, NATALIA MAREE. *Kaskaskia under the French régime*. (Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. XXIX, no. 3.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1948. Pp. 140. (\$1.50, paper; \$2.50, cloth). Reviewed on p. 425.

GUERIN, THOMAS. *The Gael in New France*. Montreal. 1946. Pp. 134. (\$1.25) Sets forth the role that the Irish have played in the history of New France.

JURY, WILFRID, and FOX, W. SHERWOOD. *St. Ignace, Canadian altar of martyrdom: Third campaign of excavations, 1946* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, XLI, sec. 3, 1947, 55-78). A report of the excavation of the Huron mission, St. Ignace II, in 1946.

LANCOT, GUSTAVE. *Le régime municipal en Nouvelle France* (Culture, IX (3), Sept., 1948, 255-83). Deals with a comparatively neglected aspect of French-Canadian history, namely, municipal administration.

McILWRAITH, T. F. *On the location of Cahiaqué* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, XLI, sec. 3, 1947, 99-102). Excavations indicate that a site near the present village of Warminster, in north Simcoe County, is that of the Huron village of Cahiaqué which Champlain visited in 1615.

ROY, JOSEPH-EDMOND. *Guillaume Couture, premier colon de la Pointe-Lévy (Lauson)*. Lévis, Qué.: Mercier. 1947. Pp. 164. (\$1.25) This small volume was written to commemorate the three hundredth anniversary of the coming to Canada in 1647 of Guillaume Couture.

## (4) British North America before 1867

BOISSONNAULT, CHARLES-MARIE. *Révolution en Amérique (1775)* (Revue de l'Université Laval, III (3), nov., 1948, 256-69). Of the American invasion of Quebec in 1775.

- COOPER, JOHN IRWIN. *Canada and Germany, 1847-1848* (American-German review, XIV (5), June, 1948, 6-7). A brief account of German ships in the St. Lawrence in 1847 and the immigrants they carried.
- Documents sur la Révolution américaine* (Revue de l'Université Laval, II (10), juin, 1948, 926-34).
- JACOBS, WILBUR R. *Presents to Indians along the French frontiers in the old northwest, 1748-1763* (Indiana magazine of history, XLIV (3), Sept., 1948, 245-56). Presents were used by both the French and the English to secure Indian friendship. Amherst's parsimonious policy in regard to presents after 1760 was, to a surprising degree, responsible for the Indian rebellion under Pontiac.
- KITE, ELIZABETH S. *French "secret aid" precursor to the French American alliance, 1776-1777* (French American review, I (2), Apr.-June, 1948, 143-52).
- MCCORMICK, WILLIAM (ed.). *The William McCormick papers, 1784-1840*. Part I. *William McCormick's trip to Ireland in 1823-1825 as told by documents owned mainly by his descendants and now deposited with the George F. Macdonald Historical Collection in the Windsor Public Library, Windsor, Ontario, Canada*. Detroit, Mich.; The author, 15842 Mendota Ave. 1947. Pp. 51. William McCormick was the first white owner of Pelee Island and a member of the Upper Canadian legislature for Essex County.
- MACKAY, CORDAY. *New Caledonia: Fur Empire of the Northwest* (Canadian geographical journal, XXXVII (4), Oct., 1948, 158-65). In the days of the fur trade in the Canadian West, New Caledonia comprised roughly the country north of Fort George on the Fraser River.
- RICH, E. E. (ed.). *Part of a dispatch from George Simpson, Esqr., Governor of Rupert's Land, to the Governor & Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company London, March 1, 1829. Continued and complete March 24 and June 5, 1829*. Introduction by W. STEWART WALLACE. (Hudson's Bay Company Series X.) Toronto: Champlain Society. 1947. Pp. liii, 277. Reviewed on p. 428.
- United States-Canada boundary treaty centennial, 1846-1946, commemorating the signing of the treaty between the United States and England fixing the boundary from the summit of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean*. Olympia: Washington Department of Conservation and Development; Victoria: British Columbia Department of Trade and Industry. 1946. Pp. 56.
- (5) **The Dominion of Canada**
- ANGERS, FRANÇOIS-ALBERT. *Deux dépendances feront-elles jamais une indépendance?* (Action nationale, XXXII (2), oct., 1948, 97-112). Discusses, in the light of present-day circumstances, André Siegfried's thesis that the independence of Canada rests upon an equilibrium resulting from its economic and geographic dependence on America and its sentimental and political dependence on Great Britain.
- BRONNER, FRÉDÉRIC J. L. *A la recherche de la vérité canadienne* (Revue de l'Université Laval, II (10), juin, 1948, 872-83). On the possibility of achieving a greater Canadian unity.
- Canada, House of Commons. *Official report of debates, third session, twentieth parliament, 11 George VI, 1947*. Vols. I-VI. 1947. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1948. Pp. 6008.
- *Official report of debates, third session, twentieth parliament, 11 George VI, 1947*. In six volumes. *Index volume*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1948. Pp. xii, 340.
- Canada: The advance of socialism* (Round table, no. 152, Sept., 1948, 802-7). "The outstanding political development of the past summer has been the evidence provided by tests of public sentiment about the growth of popular support for . . . the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation."

- FILION, GÉRARD. *Pour un mouvement républicain* (Action nationale, XXXII (2), Oct., [1948, 142-8). A discussion of the possibility of achieving a Canadian republic.
- FRASER, BLAIR. *Where does St. Laurent stand?* (Maclean's magazine, LXI (18), Sept. 15, 1948, 7, 8, 73-7). Notes on Mr. St. Laurent's views on controls, taxes, trade unions, defence, and other national issues.
- HUTCHISON, BRUCE. *Bill of rights for Canada*. (Winnipeg Free Press pamphlet 15.) Winnipeg, Man.: Winnipeg Free Press. 1947. Pp. 11.
- LAURENDEAU, ANDRÉ. *Indépendance et république* (Action nationale, XXXII (2), Oct., 1948, 86-96). The author points out that numerous Canadians wish to have the tie with Britain broken; that among these, the majority desire the absolute independence of their country; and that such independence can only be achieved through a republic.
- LEMIEUX, EDMOND. *Périls républicains et chaînes impériales* (Action nationale, XXXII (1), Sept., 1948, 51-63). Discusses some of the objections raised to the idea of a "Republic of Canada."
- . *Une république fédérative et sociale* (Action nationale, XXXII (2), Oct., 1948, 126-32). A discussion of the form of the Canadian republic to which the author aspires.
- LOWER, ARTHUR. *What this country needs is 10 new provinces* (Maclean's magazine, LXI (19), Oct. 15, 1948, 7, 77-9). Professor Lower states that the large provinces behave like imperial powers and should be carved up. Though he points out that it is unlikely that such multiplication of provinces will take place, it would, he believes, increase Canada's chances of realizing the spiritual unity of the country.
- MALLORY, J. R. *Disallowance and the national interest: The Alberta Social Credit legislation of 1937* (C.J.E.P.S., XIV (3), Aug., 1948, 342-57).
- MIDDLETON, General Sir FRED. *Suppression of the rebellion in the North West Territories of Canada, 1885*. Edited, with introduction by G. H. NEEDLER. (University of Toronto Studies, History and Economics series, vol. XII.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1948. Pp. xix, 80. (\$2.00, paper; \$2.50, cloth). To be reviewed later.
- Newfoundland, National Convention, Delegation to a Conference with Representatives of the Government on Federal Union. *Report of meetings between delegates from the National Convention of Newfoundland and representatives of the government of Canada; summary of proceedings and appendices, Ottawa, June 25th-September 29th, 1947*. Two parts. Ottawa: Department of External Affairs. 1947. Pp. 188; 163 (mimeo.).
- NORMANDIN, G. PIERRE (ed.). *The Canadian parliamentary guide, 1947*. Ottawa: The Editor, P.O. Box 513. 1947. Pp. vii, 776. (\$4.00)
- PERRAULT, JACQUES. *La "couronne" et la constitution canadienne* (Action nationale, XXXII (2), Oct., 1948, 113-25). Discusses some of the constitutional and legal difficulties in the way of a Canadian republic.
- POPE, Sir JOSEPH. *Memoirs of the Right Honourable Sir John Alexander Macdonald, G.C.B., first prime minister of the Dominion of Canada*. New edition. Toronto: Musson Book Company. 1947. Pp. 816. (\$3.50)
- SANDWELL, B. K. *The convention system in politics* (Queen's quarterly, LV (3), autumn, 1948, 343-9). The occurrence of three national party conventions in one year would seem to indicate that Canadians have adopted the American system of party management. This article considers the probable effect of this adoption on Canadian politics and the effect of the Canadian constitution on that convention system.



STEVENSON, J. A. *Canada under C.C.F. socialism* (National home monthly, XLIX (10), Oct., 1948, 9-11, 46). An analysis of the problems that will confront the C.C.F. if it comes into power in Canada.

UNDERHILL, FRANK H. *The end of the King era* (Canadian forum, XXVIII (331), Aug., 1948, 97-8; XXVIII (332), Sept., 1948, 121-2, 126-7). Mr. King's name will be associated with two achievements: under his leadership, Canada grew from Dominion status to the position of a fully adult nation-state, and she came through the Second World War without a disastrous split between French and English Canadians.

VIGEANT, PIERRE. *République ou annexion* (Action nationale, XXXII (2), Oct., 1948, 133-41).

## V. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

### (1) The Maritime Provinces and Newfoundland

*The city of Halifax* (Monetary times, CXVI (11), Nov., 1948, 26-8, 30, 32).

GANONG, WILLIAM FRANCIS. *The history of Miscou and Shippegan. Revised and enlarged from the author's manuscript notes*, edited by SUSAN BRITTAIN GANONG. (New Brunswick Museum, Historical studies 5.) Saint John, N.B.: The Museum. 1946. Pp. ix, 92. (\$2.75)

HAY, ELIZABETH. *Saint John* (Empire digest, V (11), Aug., 1948, 51-6). Notes on the city of Saint John, New Brunswick.

NOBLE, WILLIAM J. *The British and Cape Breton* (Dalhousie review, XXVIII (2), July, 1948, 173-6). Discusses the origin of the name, "Cape Breton."

PEACOCK, FLETCHER. *The province of New Brunswick*. (Provincial series.) Ottawa: Canadian Geographical Society. 1948. Pp. 32.

RUSSELL, EDGAR A. *Bay Roberts* (Atlantic guardian, V (4), July, 1948, 16-22). Notes on a Newfoundland town.

SHAW, LLOYD W. *The province of Prince Edward Island*. (Provincial series.) Ottawa: Canadian Geographical Society. 1948. Pp. 32.

WUORIO, EVA-LIS. *Newfoundland province* (Maclean's magazine, LXI (19), Oct. 1, 1948, 8-9, 68-9, 72-3, 75).

### (2) The Province of Quebec

BLANCHARD, RAOUL. *Le centre du Canada français, "province de Québec"* (Institut scientifique franco-canadien, publications.) Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin. 1947. Pp. 577. (\$5.00)

CAMBRAY, J. A. *Bribes d'histoire du Cap-de-la-Madeleine, 1634-1947*. Cap-de-la-Madeleine, Que.: L'auteur. 1947. Pp. 54.

Comité Permanent de la Survivance Française en Amérique. *La vie franco-américaine, 1946*. Québec: Le Comité. 1947. Pp. 408. An annual report on Franco-American activities, designed to interest the French element of New England in their survival as a distinct group.

DEMERS, J.-U. *Histoire de Sainte-Rose, 1740-1947*. Montréal: Imprimerie Arbour and Dupont. 1947. Pp. 395. (\$2.00). Sainte-Rose is one of the chief community centres of l'Île Jésus, an island in Laval County, Quebec, north of the island of Montreal.

L'Institut Canadien de Québec. *L'Institut Canadien de Québec, 1848-1948*. Québec: L'Institut. 1948. Pp. 59. A booklet issued on the centenary of the founding of the Institute.

- JOBIN, ALBERT. *Histoire de Québec*. Québec: Institut St-Jean-Bosco, 2160 Ch Ste Foy. 1947. Pp. 366. (\$2.50) "En somme dans la composition de ce livre, j'ai voulu dire à mes concitoyens comment Québec est né, a vécu et a grandi."
- LANCOT, GUSTAVE. *Bref historique de Saint-Jean du Richelieu*. Montréal: Ducharme. 1947. Pp. 22. (35c.)
- NEILSON, JAMES M. *The Mistassini Territory of Northern Québec* (Canadian geographical journal, XXXVII (4), Oct., 1948, 144-57). The Mistassini Territory comprises that portion of the province of Québec that is drained by the Rupert River and its tributaries. This region has remained almost unknown to all but a few fur traders and geologists.
- PERCIVAL, W. P. *The province of Québec*. (Provincial series.) Ottawa: Canadian Geographical Society. 1948. Pp. 32.
- ROY, P.-G. *La Chambre de commerce de Lévis, 1872-1947*. Lévis, Que.: Le Quotidien. 1947. Pp. 120. (50c.)
- SYMPHORIEN, FRÈRE. *Histoire du Canada*. Montréal: Frères des écoles chrétiennes, 949 rue Côté. 1947. Pp. 732. (\$3.00, cloth; \$2.25, paper)
- (3) **The Province of Ontario**
- BIGGAR, CHARLES L. *A tale of early days on Lundy's Lane*. Niagara Falls, Ont.: The Author. 1947. Pp. 10. (\$1.00)
- BURGESS, C. *Burgessville* (Western Ontario historical notes, VI (2), June, 1948, 28-30).
- CANNON, K. *The province of Ontario*. (Provincial series.) Ottawa: Canadian Geographical Society. 1948. Pp. 32.
- COOMBS, ALBERT ERNEST. *City of St. Catharines: Historical facts*. St. Catharines, Ont.: St. Catharines Standard. 1947. Pp. 52. (25c.)
- COWAN, MARGARET T. *The village of Drumbo* (Western Ontario historical notes, VI (2), June, 1948, 25-8).
- DEVITT, A. W. *Notes on the pioneer settlement of Woolwich Township* (Waterloo Historical Society, annual report, 1948, 38-47). Woolwich Township was composed of section three of a block of land that lay six miles on each side of the Grand River and that reached from Lake Erie to the falls of Elora, Ontario.
- DUNHAM, MABEL. *A short history of the new city of Waterloo* (Waterloo Historical Society, annual report, 1948, 34-8).
- . *Waterloo County house of industry and refuge* (Waterloo Historical Society, annual report, 1948, 19-29). Waterloo County opened, on June 15, 1869, the first house of refuge in Ontario.
- HARRINGTON, J. LLOYD. *The Drury debacle* (Canadian forum, XXVIII (333), Oct., 1948, 153-5). An inquiry into the causes of the rise and fall of Ontario's United Farmer Government in 1923.
- HUNTER, ANDREW F. *A history of Simcoe County*. In two parts. Part I. *Its public affairs*. Reproduced edition, 1948. Barrie: Historical Committee of Simcoe County. Pp. 323. (\$4.50). To be reviewed later.
- LEACH, ILA HAWKINS. *A history of Brownsville* (Western Ontario historical notes, VI (2), June, 1948, 20-5). Historical notes on Brownsville, in Dereham Township, Oxford County.
- MURPHY, ROWLEY. *Water against land* (Inland seas, IV (2), summer, 1948, 75-82). Discussion of the water level on the Great Lakes.

SHEPHERD, PEARL. *Glengarry forever* (Ottawa evening journal, Nov. 1, 1947, 12; Nov. 12, 1947, 10; Nov. 17, 1947, 18).

— *Pioneers of Prescott County* (The gazette, Oct. 16, 1948, 6; Oct. 23, 1948, 6).

SCHIERHOLTZ, C. W. *Ellis family history* (Waterloo Historical Society, annual report, 1948, 29-33). Alfred Ellis of Maple Grove Farm near Hespeler, reveals some unrecorded tales of early days in Upper Canada.

Windsor, Rotary Club of. *Historic Windsor, Ontario, Canada: A sketch of a dynamic Canadian city*. Windsor, Ont.: The Club. 1947. Pp. 22.

WONDERS, WILLIAM C. *The Penetanguishene Peninsula* (Canadian geographical journal, XXXVII (3), Sept., 1948, 118-29). Notes on the history and resources of the Penetanguishene Peninsula which juts into the southeastern corner of Georgian Bay.

*Woodstock a century ago* (Western Ontario historical notes, VI (2), June, 1948, 31-6). Reproduces some extracts from the *Woodstock Herald* which illustrate life in the town over a century ago.

#### (4) The Prairie Provinces

BINNS, KENNETH. *Social Credit in Alberta: Report prepared for the government of Tasmania*. Hobart, Tasmania: Government Printer. 1947. Pp. 53.

CAMERON, A. R. *The legacy of the fur trade* (Saskatchewan history, I (3), autumn, 1948, 21-2). The influence of the fur traders was for long dominant in Saskatchewan, yet they had little effect on Saskatchewan place names.

FRANCIS, E. K. *Mennonite institutions in early Manitoba: A study of their origins* (Agricultural history, XXII (3), July, 1948, 144-55).

GIRAUD, MARCEL. *Les Canadiens français dans les provinces de l'Ouest* (Revue de l'Université Laval, III (3), Nov., 1948, 215-32). "L'urbanisation des Canadiens français [in the West] n'est pas encore un fait acquis... Et, si l'échéance se réalise, les possibilités intellectuelles de cette population nous empêchent de désespérer de son avenir et de croire à la disparition inévitable de sa personnalité."

GOODHAND, HENRIETTA MCINTOSH. *Foot prints: A memoir*. Detroit, Mich.: The author, 463 Lakewood Ave. 1948. Pp. 134. (\$2.00) Homely tales of pioneer life in western Ontario and in the Prairie Provinces.

IRVING, JOHN A. *The evolution of the Social Credit Movement* (C.J.E.P.S., XIV (3), Aug., 1948, 321-41). Traces the historical development of this movement with specific reference to the data essential for its interpretation as a phenomenon of mass psychology.

JOHNSON, GILBERT. *Wolverine House* (Saskatchewan history, I (3), autumn, 1948, 18-20). A sketch of a small Saskatchewan settlement of the eighteen-eighties which has since disappeared.

MACDONALD, CHRISTINE. *How Saskatchewan women got the vote* (Saskatchewan history, I (3), Oct., 1948, 1-8).

MACFARLANE, R. O. *The province of Manitoba*. (Provincial series.) Ottawa: Canadian Geographical Society. 1948. Pp. 32.

MCNALLY, G. FRED. *The province of Alberta*. (Provincial series.) Ottawa: Canadian Geographical Society. 1948. Pp. 32.

Regina Local Council of Women. *History of the Regina Local Council of Women, commemorating golden jubilee, 1895-1945*. Regina: The Council. 1945. Pp. 72.

REVELL, ALDRIC. *Saskatchewan shows the way*. Milwaukee, Wisc.: Socialist Party of Wisconsin, 536 West Juneau Ave. 1947. Pp. 16. (10c.)

WINSPEAR, F. G. *The city of Edmonton: The story of Alberta's capital* (Monetary times, CXVI (9), Sept., 1948, 26-8, 30, 32.)

WRIGHT, JIM. *The province of Saskatchewan*. (Provincial series.) Ottawa: Canadian Geographical Society. 1948. Pp. 32.

**(5) British Columbia and the Northwest Coast**

GOUGH, JOHN. *The province of British Columbia*. (Provincial series.) Ottawa: Canadian Geographical Society. 1948. Pp. 32.

**(6) Northwest Territories, Yukon, and the Arctic Regions**

BANON, MRS. EDWARD MAGAWLY (comp.). *The diary of Edward Magawly Banon, Esq., A.I.M.E. Klondike, British Yukon, 1897*. Newport, R.I.: The author. 1948. Pp. 20. There is printed here a short diary kept by Edward Banon, a pioneer mining engineer in the Northland, when he was crossing the mountains of the Chilkoot Pass in the Yukon in 1897. It includes some interesting local-colour material on gold-rush days.

BERTON, PIERRE. *Dan McGrew died here* (Maclean's magazine, LXI (18), Sept. 15, 1948, 9, 58-60). Feature article on Dawson City.

HELMERICKS, CONSTANCE and HARMAN. *Our summer with the Eskimos*. Boston: Little Brown and Company. 1948. Pp. xiv, 239.

MORGAN, EDWARD E.P. *God's loaded dice: Alaska 1897-1930*. In collaboration with HENRY F. WOODS. Caldwell: Caxton Printers. 1948. Pp. 298. (\$4.00) An account of the author's experiences in the Northland.

ROMIG, EMILY CRAIG. *A pioneer woman in Alaska*. Caldwell: Caxton Printers. 1948. Pp. 140. (\$3.00)

THOMAS, LEWIS H. *The lieutenant governor's proclamations and minutes* (Saskatchewan history, I (3), autumn, 1948, 9-13). The proclamations and minutes of the lieutenant-governor of the Northwest Territories, 1876-97, are a monument to the unique position of this officer in the executive branch of the Territorial Government during this period.

United States Office of Naval Research. *Across the top of the world: A discussion of the Arctic*. Prepared by M. C. SHELESNYAK, with an Arctic book list by VILHJALMUR STEFANSSON. Washington, D.C.: The Office. 1947. Pp. vi, 71. (20c.)

**VI. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, SCIENCE, AND STATISTICS**

**(1) General**

GOFORTH, WALLACE. *Canada's economic future* (International journal, III (4), autumn, 1948, 285-308). "Although Canada's economic future may depend less on our own policies than on those of other nations, we can contribute greatly to a favourable outcome by old-fashioned hard work, by self-restraint in wage demands and in profit expectations, and by hammering out some formula for a Free Trade Area. . . ."

SANDERSON, MARIE. *Drought in the Canadian Northwest* (Geographical review, XXXVIII (2), Apr., 1948, 289-99).

**(4) Geography**

BLANCHARD, RAOUL. *Montréal, esquisse de géographie urbaine*. (Études canadiennes, 3e sér. 2.) Grenoble: Imprimerie Allier. 1947. Pp. 198. (\$4.50)

TAYLOR, GRIFFITH. *Atlas of the provinces of Canada showing physical features and place names, with an introduction on geography and nation planning*. Toronto: Book Society of Canada, 88 Richmond St. W. 1947. Pp. 8. (35c.)

— *Canada: A study of cool continental environments and their effect on British and French settlement*. London: Methuen and Company [Toronto: S. J. Reginald

Saunders and Company]. 1947. Pp. xv, 524. (\$6.00) This text-book of Canadian geography is divided into three parts: "Position, Discovery, and General Physical Features"; "The Natural Regions and Their Varied Environments"; and "The Environments as Related to Man."

#### (5) Transportation and Communication

MCCURDY, J. A. D. *The early days of aviation* (Dalhousie review, XXVIII (2), July, 1948, 109-16). The author tells of his part in early aviation history.

#### (6) Science

CLARKSON, F. ARNOLD. *The medical faculty of the University of Toronto* (Calgary Associate Clinic historical bulletin, XIII (2), Aug., 1948, 21-30). A historical sketch of the Toronto medical faculty.

FISHER, A. W. *Dr. Donald Blair Fraser: An Ontario physician* (Calgary Associate Clinic historical bulletin, XIII (2), Aug., 1948, 35-8). Dr. Fraser, who died in 1933, was the most prominent practitioner in Stratford, Ontario.

JOHNSON, G. R. and OBORNE, H. V. *Abraham Gesner, 1797-1864: A forgotten physician-inventor* (Calgary Associate Clinic historical bulletin, XIII (2), Aug., 1948, 30-4.) The Canadian, Dr. Abraham Gesner (1797-1864) developed, in the age of the tallow candle, an efficient and economical illuminating oil which he called kerosene.

### VII. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

CALLAGHAN, MORLEY. *The Varsity story*. Illustrated by ERIC ALDWINKLE. Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada. 1948. Pp. 172. (\$2.50) This story about the University of Toronto is concerned with a search for its "spirit or soul." The author concludes that "I'm still convinced that the separate colleges, the different schools, are there making some kind of pattern, but no one may ever see it. . . . I could only see one facet at a time, but I think each facet is an aspect of the truth, and those separate facets can glisten and shine and perhaps, if you are poets or philosophers, give you a glimpse of the whole truth that I couldn't get." The book is illustrated by Eric Aldwinkle with attractive black and white etchings of familiar university scenes.

Canadian Library Association. *Newspaper microfilming project catalogue, 1948*. Ottawa: The Association. 1948. Pp. 28. Lists the Canadian newspapers which the Association has microfilmed to date.

[Laval University.] *Revue de l'Université Laval*, III (1), Sept., 1948, 1-70). A symposium of articles, many of a historical nature, on the University of Laval "consacré à peu près exclusivement à la souscription qui s'amorce."

LOWER, ARTHUR. *Does our education educate?* (Maclean's magazine, LXI (22), Nov. 15, 1948, 9, 72-6). Most college students, says Professor Lower, are worthy, obedient—and stupid. The universities' aims are fuzzy and they train too many students.

QUINN, HERBERT F. *Political science instruction in Canadian universities* (Culture, IX (3), Sept., 1948, 247-54). Points out some of the shortcomings of the political science instruction which is available in Canadian universities.

ROTHNEY, GORDON O. *University charters in Quebec* (Georgian faculty review, I (2), Apr., 1948, 10-14). Sir George Williams College is the fifth institution in the province of Quebec to receive a university charter.

WALLACE, ROBERT C. *The universities of the British Commonwealth* (Queen's quarterly, LV (3), autumn, 1948, 237-43).

WRIGHT, DOROTHY. *We need a national library* (Canadian forum, XXVIII (333), Oct., 1948, 157-8).

## VIII. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

- BANNISTER, J. A. *Centennial history of Grace United Church, Port Dover, Ont., 1847-1947*. Port Dover, Ont.: The Church. 1947. Pp. 24. (\$1.00)
- BARKER, H. W. *The history of the United Church Archives* (The bulletin, no. 1, 1948, 11-36). Outlines some of the historical material to be found in the United Church Archives.
- BERNARD, ANTOINE. *Vie du père Champagneur, fondateur et premier supérieur de l'Institut de Saint-Viateur au Canada, 1807-1882*. Montréal: Clercs de Saint-Viateur. 1947. Pp. 156. (60c.)
- BERTRAND, CAMILLE. *Monsieur de La Dauversière, fondateur de Montréal, et des religieuses Hospitalières de S.-Joseph, 1597-1659*. Montréal: Frères des écoles chrétiennes, 949 rue Côté. 1947. Pp. 280. (\$1.50)
- CLARK, S. D. *Church and sect in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1948. Pp. xiii, 458. (\$4.75) To be reviewed later.
- PROVOST, HONORIUS. *Un chapitre d'histoire religieuse dans le Maine* (Revue de l'Université Laval, II (10), juin, 1948, 853-60). Of the religious life of French-Canadian émigrés to New England.
- TAYLOR, ANDREW W. *First United Church, Galt* (Waterloo Historical Society, annual report, 1948, 7-15).
- WHITEWAY, S. P. *The history of Methodism in Newfoundland* (The bulletin, no. 1, 1948, 40-4).

## IX. GENEALOGY

- 1646-1946; troisième centenaire de naissance de Pierre Blanchet; famille Blanchet, Canada et États-Unis; livre souvenir de la famille Blanchet; publié à l'occasion de la célébration du troisième centenaire de naissance de Pierre Blanchet. Québec: Ducharme. 1946. Pp. 296. (\$2.50)
- BEAN, S. V. *Historical sketch of the Biehn family* (Waterloo Historical Society, annual report, 1948, 15-18). Of John Biehn, Waterloo County pioneer, and his descendants.
- BELCOURT, GUILLAUME. *Famille Belcourt, tricentenaire, 1646-1946*. Ottawa: Le Droit. 1947. Pp. 54.
- DEROME, GASTON. *Trois siècles d'histoire: Denis Derome-Descarreaux 1624-1697 marié à Québec en 1657 à Jacqueline Roulois, 1644-1718*. Hull: Éditions "L'Eclair." 1948. Pp. 29.

## X. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Canada, Department of Public Printing and Stationery. *Annual catalogue, Dominion of Canada government publications, October 1st, 1947*. Ottawa: The Department. 1947. Pp. 161. (25c.)
- Canadian Library Association. *Canadian library directory, 1948-49 supplement*. (Reference Publication no. 3A.) Ottawa: The Association. Sept., 1948. Pp. 18.
- London, Ontario, Public Library and Art Museum. *A subject index to the Royal Society of Canada Proceedings and Transactions, third series, vols. I-XXXI, 1907-1937*. Compiled by MAY ALICE MARTIN. (Canadian Library Association, Reference publication I.) Ottawa: Canadian Library Association. 1947. Pp. 143 (mimeo.). (\$4.00)
- MORLEY, E. LILLIAN (comp.). *A Perth County bibliography*. Milverton: The Author. [1948.] Pp. 12. A partial list of publications about the County of Perth and of those by writers at present or formerly residents of Perth.

Saskatchewan, Legislative Library. *List of royal commissions, special reports, etc. pertaining to the province of Saskatchewan*. Regina: The Library. 1947. Pp. 84 (mimeo.).

Société des Écrivains canadiens. *Bulletin bibliographique, année 1946; année 1947*. Montréal: La Société. 1947; 1948. Pp. 124; 120.

Toronto Public Libraries (comp.). *The Canadian catalogue of books published in Canada, as well as those written by Canadians, with imprint of 1947*. Toronto. 1948. Pp. 60.

University of Toronto Library, Circulation Department. *Canadian periodical index, 1945: A cumulation of the quarterly indexes published in the Ontario Library Review*. Compiled under the direction of MAY L. NEWTON. Toronto: Ontario Department of Education, Public Libraries Branch. 1947. Pp. 127. (\$1.00)

———. *Canadian periodical index, 1946: A cumulation of the quarterly indexes published in the Ontario Library Review*. Compiled under the direction of MAY L. NEWTON and M. ROXALYN FINCH. Toronto: Ontario Department of Education, Public Libraries Branch. 1947. Pp. 139.

## XI. ART AND LITERATURE

BELL, ANDREW. *The Art Gallery of Toronto* (Canadian art, V (4), spring-summer, 1948, 164-8). "This gallery has two important justifications; its impressionist pictures, and above all, its comprehensive group of recent Canadian work."

Detroit Institute of Arts. *The arts of French Canada, 1613-1870, the Detroit institute of arts, the Cleveland museum of art* [and others]. Detroit: The Institute. 1946. Pp. 52. (\$1.00)

FAIRLEY, BARKER. *What is wrong with Canadian art* (Canadian art, VI (1), autumn, 1948, 24-9). In the author's opinion, Canadian art has been stagnating since the achievement of the Group of Seven.

FRANKLIN, BERT. *Patriarch at 27* (Maclean's magazine, LXI (21), Nov. 1, 1948, 8, 50-2). Feature article on Lister Sinclair, Canadian radio playwright.

MCINNES, GRAHAM. *Painter of Saint John* (Canadian art, V (4), spring-summer, 1948, 170-3). Of Jack Humphrey who lives and paints in Saint John and whose "integrity and achievement remain, after a quarter of a century of painting, both unquestioned and unquestionably high."

MACKINNON, FRANK. *Robert Harris and Canadian art* (Dalhousie review, XXVIII (2) July, 1948, 145-53). Reviews the contribution of Robert Harris, whose most famous painting is that of the fathers of confederation, to Canadian culture.

PACEY, DESMOND. *The poetry of Duncan Campbell Scott* (Canadian forum, XXVIII (331), Aug., 1948, 107-9).

RIOU, PAUL et GAUVREAU, JEAN-MARIE. *Les formes de l'activité artisanale* (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, XLI, sec. 1, 1947, 69-87). On the activity of artisans in Quebec.

SHADBOLT, DORIS. *The Vancouver Art Gallery* (Canadian art, VI (1), autumn, 1948, 8-13).

WHALLEY, GEORGE. *The great Canadian novel* (Queen's quarterly, LV (3), autumn, 1948, 318-26). The author is "not sure how or whether a gifted novelist could maintain his integrity in this country at the present time." But he "is well advised to go on writing with such detachment as he can command, in the hope that while he is writing somebody will teach the public how to read."

WHEELER, A. L. *Up from the magma and back again with Paul Hiebert* (Manitoba arts review, VI (1), spring, 1948, 3-14). A discussion of Paul Hiebert's *Sarah Binks*.



## NOTES AND COMMENTS

### PERSONAL ITEMS

*Further items for inclusion under this heading will be welcome.*

Miss M. A. Albright has been appointed Lecturer in the Department of History of the University of Toronto.

R. V. Allen has been appointed Lecturer in the Department of History of the University of Toronto.

C. C. Bayley, Assistant Professor of History at McGill University, has been granted a year's leave of absence as a Guggenheim Fellow.

Gordon S. Couse has been appointed Lecturer in history at Carleton College.

H. N. Fieldhouse, Kingsford Professor of History, and Chairman of the Department of History of McGill University, has been appointed Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Science.

Gustave Lanctot has retired from the position of Dominion Archivist, and W. Kaye Lamb has been appointed to succeed him.

D. A. Mitton has resigned from the staff of Brandon College, Winnipeg.

R. A. Preston has resigned from the Department of History of the University of Toronto, and has been appointed Professor of History at Royal Military College, Kingston.

W. S. Reid, Assistant Professor of History at McGill University, has been given a grant in aid of research by the American Philosophical Association of Philadelphia (founded by Benjamin Franklin).

C. B. Sissons of Victoria College, the University of Toronto, has published volume II of *Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company, 1947).

W. D. Smith has been appointed Instructor in History at Brandon College, Winnipeg.

G. F. G. Stanley of the Department of History of the University of British Columbia has been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship and is at present engaged in research at the Public Archives of Canada on the Indian policy of the federal government of Canada. In Professor Stanley's absence, Gilbert Tucker, formerly head of the Historical Section of the Royal Canadian Navy, has been appointed for this year to the staff of the University.

B. Wilkinson of the Department of History of the University of Toronto has published volume I of his *Constitutional History of England, 1216-1399* (London, Toronto, New York: Longmans, 1948).

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### RETIREMENT OF NORMAN FEE AS ENGLISH SECRETARY AND TREASURER OF THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Mr. Norman Fee, who for twenty-one years has been English Secretary and Treasurer of the Canadian Historical Association, retired this year on the occasion of the Association's annual general meeting in Vancouver. The Association recorded its appreciation of Mr. Fee's services in the following resolution, proposed by Professor D. G. Creighton at the annual meeting on June 19, 1948, and unanimously approved:

"Mr. Norman Fee, English Secretary and Treasurer of the Canadian Historical Association, is retiring this year, after twenty-one years of service. It has seemed appropriate and desirable that this association should formally record its appreciation of Mr. Fee's long and continued devotion to its interests and welfare.

In 1927, when Mr. Fee first assumed these duties, our association was five years old. In some sense an outgrowth of the old Historic Landmarks Association, it had been formally organized in 1922. These early and formative years were difficult ones; and the association will always be grateful for the work of its founders; but it is no depreciation of their labour to say, that in 1927, the year in which Mr. Fee was appointed to the office he has since held, the association began a new career of greater usefulness. It was, for example, in this year, the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation, that Professor Wrong, then president, organized what is believed to have been the first of the integrated programmes, centred about some general theme or themes, which have been a feature of our annual meetings for many years now. It was in this year also, under Mr. Fee's direction, that the minutes and other permanent records of our association were started. The Canadian Historical Association's written history begins with Mr. Fee's appointment. He is our first historian. For twenty-one years he has given his thought and care and effort to the association's growth.

Therefore, be it hereby resolved that the Canadian Historical Association formally records its high appreciation of the value of Mr. Fee's long services and its gratitude for the faithful and effective part which he has played in the organization."

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#### RETIREMENT OF DR. GUSTAVE LANCTOT AS DOMINION ARCHIVIST

Dr. Gustave Lanctot retired as Dominion Archivist on September 1, 1948, after a period in office dating from 1937. Previous to 1937, he had been a member of the Archives staff for many years under Dr. Doughty. During his term, the Archives were more fully organized under the six divisions of Manuscripts, Maps, Prints, Information, Library, and Publications. The war years caused a serious curtailment of activities, but since the war the Paris office has been reopened and the London office reorganized. During Dr. Lanctot's term, there were many acquisitions of importance including not only public records but a number of valuable collections of private papers. The War Museum Board has also been under the Dominion Archivist. A museum has been organized displaying over 10,000 articles, from aeroplanes and guns to grenades, revolvers, flags, and posters. Under Dr. Lanctot the Archives continued to extend to visitors and students the facilities for research which have made them a very important centre for Canadian historians.

It is sincerely to be hoped that the difficulties which beset the Archives during the depression and war years will be cleared away, and that long awaited developments will proceed in the near future. An announcement has been made of the appointment of Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, librarian of the University of British Columbia, as Dr. Lanctot's successor. The REVIEW will include a note with regard to Dr. Lamb's appointment in its next issue.

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#### ANNUAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF AMERICAN ARCHIVISTS AND THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR STATE AND LOCAL HISTORY

This year the joint annual meeting of the above two societies was held on October 27, 28, and 29 at Raleigh, North Carolina. The attendance was satis-

factorily large, approximately 200 members of the two societies registering. The papers given on the first day may be grouped under the title "Reference Problems as Viewed by the Reader and by the Administrator"; on the third day the papers dealt with "History and State Archival Agencies" and "Collectors and Historical Depositaries." The delegates spent the intervening day visiting Duke University and the University of North Carolina, learning something of their historical collections. At one luncheon the speaker stressed the advisability of the establishment of university archives (that is, archives relating to university records and activities). Colleges and universities have become so large and such important factors in national development that records problems have become pressing; in several instances university archives divisions have already been established. The proposal that a union list of documents be compiled was again brought forward, and the proposal again made that Canadian depositaries should be included in the suggested scheme. It is proposed that the Society of American Archivists meet next year in Quebec City, and the Association for State and Local History in Burlington, Vermont, at times which will permit delegates to attend both meetings.

The officers and council members for 1948-9 are: Society of American Archivists: President, Christopher Crittenden; vice-president, Herbert A. Kellar; secretary, Lester J. Cappon; treasurer, Helen L. Chatfield; council members, O. W. Holmes, H. H. Peckham, Ernest Posner, Dorothy Taylor, Karl L. Trever; the American Association for State and Local History: president, S. K. Stevens; vice-presidents, E. P. Alexander, Virginia Gambrell, Howard Peckham, Lancaster Pollard; editor, Christopher Crittenden; secretary-treasurer, Earle Newton; council, Dorothy C. Barck, Lester J. Cappon, Albert C. Corey, Charles M. Gates, Ronald F. Lee, Clifford L. Lord, James W. Olson, William G. Roelker, G. W. Spragge.

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#### ANGLO-AMERICAN HISTORICAL CONFERENCE

The Anglo-American Historical Conference will be held in London July 7, 8, and 9, 1949. Professor H. H. Bellot is chairman and will be glad to hear from any Canadian historians who will be in England next July and who are interested in attending the conference. Letters should be addressed to him at the Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, London, W.C. 1.

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#### MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA

The Mediaeval Academy of America will hold its twenty-fourth annual meeting on April 8-9, 1949, at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto. Dr. A. C. Pegis, President of the Institute, is chairman of the committee arranging the programme. This is the first meeting of the Academy in Canada. Canadian members of the Academy and members of the Canadian Historical Association are invited to address inquiries concerning the meeting to Dr. Charles R. D. Miller, Mediaeval Academy of America, 1430 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

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The National Office of the United Nations Association in Canada is now located at 163 Laurier Ave. W., Ottawa. A recently-published list of materials on United Nations including pamphlets, films, film strips, and posters is available on application to the Information Office.

## MARCH OF BOOKS

The Canadian Library Association and the Canadian Council for Reconstruction through UNESCO have embarked on March of Books, a nation-wide campaign to collect from Canadians, books and periodicals of a scholarly nature for distribution to needy libraries in war-devastated countries. Many overseas libraries were destroyed or damaged during World War II, and almost all were cut off from the tremendous knowledge accumulated in many fields since 1939. Letters from libraries reflect the urgent need for publications in every subject and emphasize particularly the lack of scientific and technical material. Enquiries about March of Books are welcomed by Mr. W. A. Magill, Director, March of Books, 139½ Sparks Street, Ottawa.

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The Committee on History and Archives of the United Church of Canada has published its first annual *Bulletin* containing articles on the Archives of Victoria University and of the United Church, and regional reports dealing, for example, with the history of Methodism in Newfoundland.

## ARCHIVES, LIBRARIES, AND MUSEUMS

*The Library of Carleton College* has received from the United Nations Association in Canada a large donation of official publications of the League of Nations which had been accumulated by the League of Nations Society in Canada during the period 1921-45. This extensive collection has never been catalogued, but it is hoped to begin that task early in 1949, and thereafter the material will be accessible to students and research workers.

*The Kamloops Museum Association.* The most pressing need of the Museum is for additional accommodation, a fact which reflects its growing activities. The reprinting of the photographic collection by the Provincial Archives has continued and a group of 500 negatives were presented to the Museum during the year. President, Burt R. Campbell; secretary-treasurer, Miss Melva Dwyer.

*Laval University, Department of Archives* is continuing its policy of publishing certain of its documents in *La Revue de l'Université Laval*, formerly *Le Canada français*.

*The Library of the Royal Canadian Military Institute, Toronto* was formed in 1890 and contains over 12,000 volumes on military subjects, including regimental histories of British, Canadian, and colonial units, current books and periodicals, and complete series of various British military journals. It possesses, in addition, the militia lists of Upper and Lower Canada back to 1829, British naval lists back to 1794, and one of the most complete collections of British Army lists dating back to 1642. There is also a museum in connexion with the Library which contains interesting relics of Canadian and British history. Appointments for research work may be arranged by telephoning the Librarian, W. A. Stewart, Adelaide 2087.

*The New Brunswick Museum's Annual Report for 1947* records the addition of 260 books and 120 pamphlets to the Webster Canadiana Library during the year. Among the rare items acquired are: Carver's "Travels in the Interior of North America in 1766, 1767 and 1768," Cartwright's "Journals of Transactions and Events During a Residence of Sixteen Years in Labrador" (1792), and "Trial For Libel on the Magistrates of Halifax—the King vs. Joseph Howe." Accessions to the archives include the acts of the General Assembly of New Brunswick from 1786 to 1853, a bequest of the Museum's late President, Chief Justice Baxter.

*The University of Western Ontario, Lawson Memorial Library* has devoted the March issue of *Western Ontario Historical Notes* to the history of the Great Western Railway, and the June issue to further articles on Oxford County, the first number on this subject being that of March, 1947. The University of Western Ontario has also issued the fifth "Bulletin of the Museums," entitled *Fairfield on the Thames* by Wilfrid Jury. It is a report on further excavations made during 1946 on the site of this early mission village.

#### CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

*Brant Historical Society.* At the September meeting of the Society, Mrs. R. J. Windrim read a paper on "The Early Days of Terrace Hill." Miss Jean Waldie, press representative, published an article in the Brantford *Expositor* on the history of All Saints Anglican Church, Mount Pleasant, originally built in 1845. President, Harold Hill; secretary, Mrs. George Willoughby, 173 Sheridan St., Brantford.

*The British Columbia Historical Association, Vancouver Section.* Among the papers presented to the Section this year were: "The Development of the Eastern Fraser Valley," by George B. White, "The Development of the Okanagan," by Margaret A. Ormsby, and "Vancouver's Early Days," by C. W. McBain. The June meeting was held, together with the Victoria Section as a joint session with the Canadian Historical Association. It included a trilogy of short papers on British Columbia history, followed by a general conference on local history.

*The British Columbia Historical Association, Victoria Section.* During the meetings of the Section in the past year, addresses were heard on: "Exploration and Pioneering in Canada's Northland," by G. H. Blanchet, "Pioneer Days in the Canadian North," by S. C. Ells, and "The Romance of Two Rivers: The Columbia and Kootenay," by Norman Hacking. In March, Blanshard Day was celebrated, and a paper read on the career of Richard Blanshard, first governor of a British colony in the Pacific Northwest, by Willard E. Ireland, provincial librarian and archivist. The June meeting of the Section was held as a joint session with the Canadian Historical Association.

*The Canadian Library Association.* The Association has published Part I of the catalogue of its newspaper microfilm project. Supplements will be issued from time to time. This useful and descriptive pamphlet may be purchased for fifty cents. It is illustrated with the front sheets of a number of the newspapers microfilmed by the Association, and contains brief notes on each of the journals listed. Inquiries regarding the microfilms should be addressed to the Association's office, Room 46, 46 Elgin St., Ottawa.

*The Champlain Society* has this year published Volumes 9 and 10 in its Hudson's Bay series: *Minutes of Council 1682-84*, edited by E. E. Rich, and *Simpson's 1828 Journey to the Columbia*, edited by E. E. Rich with introduction by W. S. Wallace. President, Harold C. Walker, K.C.; treasurer, G. W. Brown; secretaries, G. de T. Glazebrook and P. S. Osler.

*L'Institut Canadien de Québec* celebrated its centenary in September, 1948. During the centenary meetings the following papers were read: "Les lettres canadiennes-françaises, il y a un siècle," by Séraphin Marion; "Les arts et l'artisanat vers 1830-1850," by Gérard Morisset; "L'Instruction publique en 1848," by René Guénette; "La vie politique, il y a cent ans," by Judge Robert Taschereau; "La société de Québec en 1848," by Antoine Roy; and "L'élite intellectuelle canadienne-française et son influence depuis un siècle," by Miss Céline Michaud. The Institut has issued a pamphlet on its work during the past one hundred years. At

present it has 1,500 members and a library of 40,000 volumes. President, Jean Bruchési; administrative-treasurer, J. Alph. Fugère; secretary-archivist, Alphonse Désilets; corresponding secretary, Alfred Mousset.

*The Kent Historical Society.* At the annual meeting of the Society in October, Victor Lauriston gave an address on General Henry Proctor, challenging the belief that he was an inept commander during the War of 1812, and S. B. Arnold spoke on the history of Arnold's Mill. Among the new officers named for the coming year are O. K. Watson, president, and E. M. Milner, secretary.

*The Lundy's Lane Historical Society* has authorized the republication in an abridged edition of Brigadier General E. A. Cruikshank's pamphlet, *The Battle of Queenston Heights*. Copies may be purchased for \$1.00 through Niagara Publishers, c/o Mrs. Stanley C. Tolan, 1775 Brookfield Avenue, Niagara Falls, Canada.

*The Macnab Historical Association* is now publishing a literary quarterly, *Canadiana*, which seeks to offer Canadian writers a new field for publication. Inquiries should be addressed to the *Canadiana Magazine*, P.O. Box 155, Foleyet, Ontario. Publisher, William Macnab Box; editor, Hilda M. Ridley.

*The Nova Scotia Historical Society.* President, D. C. Harvey; secretary, W. L. Payzant, 92 Granville St., Halifax.

*The Okanagan Historical Society* is now organized on a regional basis. The officers of the Penticton Branch include Mrs. R. B. White, president; R. J. McDougall, secretary. Those of the Kelowna Branch include F. M. Buckland, president, and L. L. Kerry, secretary-treasurer.

*La Société Historique de la Chaudière* has issued as its first publication the pamphlet *Les Abénaquis sur la Chaudière* by l'abbé Honorius Provost. President, Mtre Robert Vézina; secretary, Rév. frère Eloi-Gérard, Collège de Beauceville; treasurer, Samuel Bouchard.

*The Vancouver Art, Historical and Scientific Association* has published *The Great Fraser Midden*, an illustrated pamphlet reporting on the excavation of this Indian archaeological deposit. President, Mrs. R. Monro St. John; honorary treasurer, Captain W. Rankin.

*The Waterloo Historical Society's* well-filled *Report for 1948* includes articles on: "A Short History of the Town of Waterloo" and "The Waterloo County House of Industry and Refuge," both by Miss B. M. Dunham; "The Elmira Monthly Fair," by C. W. Schierholtz, and "Notes on the Pioneer Settlement of Woolwich Township," by A. W. Devitt. President, Miss B. M. Dunham; secretary-treasurer, P. Fisher.

*The York-Sunbury Historical Society* has produced the first mimeographed number of its *Reports* which reproduces three original documents—part of the Royal Letters Patent creating Fredericton a city, a stock inventory of a local trading post, 1772, and the record of a coroners' inquest of 1784. This first *Report* is put forward very modestly, but if subsequent issues continue to make original documents of this sort more widely available, the modesty seems unnecessary.

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